

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

End U.S. aid to Salvador junta!



Washington, D.C., January 11—Church, labor, and other groups march to protest U.S. government support to bloody dictatorship in El Salvador. See page 10.

Militant/Lou Howort

As liberation fighters report gains in their offensive against government troops in El Salvador, the U.S. government has decided to resume military aid to the hated dictatorship there. On January 14 the Carter administration announced that more than \$5 million in aid will be sent, including two helicopters and military advisers. \$20 million in "economic aid" is already being funneled to the regime that is responsible for the slaughter of at least 12,000 people in the last year.

Carter's move ends the cutoff of open military aid made in response to public outrage at the rape and murder of four U.S. women missionaries in early December.

The resumption of military aid is a slap in the face to the American people who oppose U.S. support to repressive regimes around the world.

In recent months thousands have participated in demonstrations, picket lines, teach-ins, and memorial services for victims of the El Salvador junta.

Officials of the Catholic Church, and other religious figures, have spoken out sharply against the danger of a new Vietnam in Central America.

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Gov't shifts defense in socialist lawsuit, claims right to spy on everybody

"...the Government may legally investigate individuals or organizations regardless of their nature."

... El Salvador

Continued from front page

The labor movement has demonstrated growing concern. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has begun a boycott of all arms shipments from the West Coast to El Salvador. International Association of Machinists President William Winpisinger recently threw his support behind this effort.

These protests are growing despite the attempts of the U.S. government and the capitalist media to hide the truth from us.

The Carter administration and the incoming Reagan administration insist that what is happening in El Salvador is a conflict between the "extreme left" and "extreme right." They present the dictatorship of President José Napoleón Duarte as a "center" force trying to curb the violence.

But they have been unable to cover up all the facts.

One of their lies is that the Salvadoran regime has carried out a land reform beneficial to the country's farmers. On January 3, three men involved in the land reform program were gunned down in San Salvador. The killings were carried out by government forces loyal to the big landlords who oppose any land reform whatsoever.

Two of those slain were Americans who worked for the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

AIFLD has nothing to do with the interests of labor—here or in El Salvador. It is a CIA-run counterinsurgency operation that carries out fierce repression in rural areas of El Salvador under the cover of land reform.

On January 14 Solicitor General Wade McCree admitted that the two Americans were "under cover" in El Salvador, implying they were CIA agents. The CIA refused to deny the two were in fact in their pay.

The CIA is a deadly enemy of the U.S. labor movement.

Yet the AFL-CIO has lent its support and resources to AIFLD in a criminal betrayal of both American workers and farmers and our sisters and brothers in El Salvador.

What side should labor be on in El Salvador?

Today a general strike is underway in that country. Tens of thousands of unionists have joined in the protest against the antilabor junta, which has shot down many labor activists in the last year.

U.S. workers should support the strike. It's our answer to the backing given by AIFLD and the U.S. government to the repression of the junta.

Just as the facts of the general strike have been covered up in the capitalist media, so has the truth about the struggle the guerrillas are waging.

Many newspapers reported the recent death of a South African journalist and the wounding of two American reporters when their car ran over a land mine on an isolated road in El Salvador.

Most of the press blamed the guerrillas for the death and injury.

But a photographer for *Time* magazine, Susan Meiselas, told the real story. An interview with her was buried in the January 13 *New York Times*.

Meiselas, who was with the journalists injured, said guerrillas arrived to help about thirty minutes after the mine blew up.

"They were very upset," she said. "They said that everyone in the area knew not to use the road. They thought that any vehicle coming down the road would belong to the army."

"They brought hammocks to help us but left when they heard the ambulance coming."

But after the injured were loaded into the ambulance, the National Guard arrived. And not to help. The ambulance was searched, delaying the emergency medical attention needed. "They wanted to make sure there were no more than three wounded people inside," reported Meiselas.

"I was very lucky," she concluded.

Another lie is that the Cubans and Nicaraguans are stirring up the trouble in El Salvador. On January 14, U.S. Ambassador Robert White charged that an invasion had been launched from Nicaragua and that the Sandinista government was supplying weapons to the insurgents. The liberation forces have denied they are receiving arms from Nicaragua.

What White didn't talk about—and what the American media has covered up—are the dangerous troop movements of thousands of Guatemalan and Honduran soldiers toward El Salvador's borders. Some have reportedly entered the country and bombed rebel positions. The Guatemalan and Honduran regimes are firm allies of Washington.

The fact of the matter is that the Duarte government and its army are weak and isolated. The junta cannot survive without outside aid. The liberation forces are already reporting military victories. The general strike is growing.

Washington is deeply aware of this dilemma. It recognizes it cannot invade El Salvador as it did Santo Domingo in 1965, without unleashing a furious protest through-

out Latin America—and in the United States.

Even the warlike statements of the incoming Reagan appointees have been tempered by this realization. Jeane Kirkpatrick, the nominee for U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, said in an interview in the *New York Times* that "I would not under any circumstances recommend support for U.S. military intervention in Central America."

"... we have a realistic assessment of our limits," she explained.

General Alexander Haig, who vigorously defended U.S. bombing of Vietnam at his recent confirmation hearings, was also forced to admit the obstacles the U.S. government faces today to using military force to maintain profits abroad.

When asked if he would favor intervention in the Persian Gulf if oil were cut off, he noted he was "very concerned today about the inadequacy of our capability to do the kind of things that your question suggests."

The U.S. rulers' "inadequacy" stems both from the American workers' experience with Vietnam and with the continued rise of the world revolution, centered today in Central America.

We have a major responsibility in this country to deepen our solidarity with those revolutions in order to stay the hand of the warmakers.

More education is needed about the struggle in El Salvador, through public meetings, picket lines, and demonstrations, involving forces in the church and the labor movement. Solidarity with the dockers boycott is also important.

On February 13-16 an antidraft conference in Detroit takes place. This gathering will be a major opportunity to organize opposition to Washington's aid to El Salvador. A strong and visible antidraft movement will make the U.S. rulers think twice.

The *Militant* will be providing extensive coverage of what the battle in El Salvador means for American workers. Each week we will try to bring you the facts that you can't find in other newspapers—reports on what the workers and farmers in El Salvador are fighting for, what the U.S. government is up to behind the scenes, activities in this country to oppose U.S. aid to the junta, as well as analytical articles about the revolutions in Central America and how they affect every worker in this country.

We encourage all our readers to join us in circulating the *Militant* each week to help in this solidarity effort.

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Reagan's economic plan

The incoming administration wants to give big business even more tax breaks, boost military spending, and cut back on social security and unemployment compensation. But it also fears the response of U.S. working people. **Page 9.**

The Militant

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Gov't shifts defense in SWP suit, claims right to spy on everybody

Sees 'sinister motive' by socialists in industry

By Andy Rose

A dramatic shift in Washington's public stance toward civil liberties and political rights has been exposed in trial preparations for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against the federal government.

The government is now putting forward the most sweeping claims it has ever made of a legal "right" to spy on, harass, blacklist, and deport those whose political views it disapproves of.

It can undertake such secret-police actions, the government emphasizes, even against individuals and organizations whose political activities are completely legal and supposedly protected by the Bill of Rights.

Federal attorneys representing the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies and officials submitted court documents December 31 outlining the defense the United States government will present when the socialist lawsuit comes to trial March 16.

"The issue in this case is not whether the SWP, the YSA, or any of their members can be proved guilty of a crime beyond a reasonable doubt," they assert.

"The issue is whether the Government has a right to keep itself informed of the activities of groups that openly advocate revolutionary change in the structure and leadership of the Government of the United States, even if such advocacy might be within the letter of the law" (emphasis added).

Furthermore, the document continues, "... the Government may legally investigate individuals or organizations regardless of their nature" (emphasis added).

'Grounds for deportation'

A major issue in the SWP and YSA case against the government concerns its repeated efforts to deport activists because of their political views. On this the government court document asserts outright that "advocacy of views such as those held by the SWP [is]



Lockheed unionists fired in company witch-hunt, from left, Jean Savage, Chris Hoepfner, Jude Coren, and SWP attorney Margaret Winter at Atlanta news conference. FBI now says it has legal right to keep blacklists and pass information to employers.

grounds for exclusion, deportation, and denial of naturalization."

What are "views such as those held by the SWP" that make someone a target for deportation?

Opposition to the draft? Support for bilingual education?

What about tens of thousands of Latin American refugees who share the SWP's opposition to U.S. aid to dictatorial regimes and who look favorably on the Cuban, Nicaraguan, Grenadian, and Salvadoran revolutions? Are they fair game for "exclusion, deportation, and denial of naturalization"? Apparently so.

"This is the biggest turn in our case

since the fall of 1976, when the government pretended to drop its 'investigation' of the SWP and YSA," said Larry Seigle, the SWP Political Committee member who coordinates the lawsuit.

"We have successfully blown away the smokescreen of phony reforms of the FBI, CIA, INS [Immigration and Naturalization Service], and the rest of the secret police," Seigle said.

"Our party is exposing all the cover-ups. The cover-up that it was just Nixon. That it was just J. Edgar Hoover. That the FBI has changed. That now they only investigate crimes, not political ideas.

"Now," Seigle said, "the government openly asserts its right to spy on anyone—a position that will provoke outrage among millions of Americans when they learn of it.

"This means that when we put the U.S. government on trial March 16, it will be the most direct challenge ever to the very foundations of their secret police apparatus."

Justifying dirty tricks

The government legal document spells out what sort of "investigations" it has in mind. These include the FBI feeding information to employers to get workers fired from their jobs.

"If the only 'interference' [with employment] consists of transmitting true information to an employer, the Government will contend that this activity is not actionable. . .," the document says.

"Not actionable" is a legal term meaning there's nothing the socialists can do about it.

The government paper specifically defends as legal the FBI's use of anonymous poison-pen letters to get Morris Starsky fired from a teaching position at Arizona State University in 1970.

As for blacklisting, the government says it "will not deny that the names of some SWP and YSA members were placed on various lists. This activity is not tortious, however, and plaintiffs [the SWP and YSA] will be unable to prove any actionable harm resulting from such activity."

"Not tortious" is like "not actionable." It means you can't stop them.

The document goes on to defend the government's use of the following spy techniques against the SWP and YSA:

- informers—"not actionable";
- mail covers, that is, recording who sends mail to the SWP and YSA—"not tortious";
- trash covers, that is, going

Continued on next page

Reagan spy plan implemented . . . by Carter

Defenders of civil liberties are alarmed by the Reagan administration's plans for stepped-up FBI and CIA spying.

A report by the Heritage Foundation, a right-wing "think tank," spells out some of these witch-hunt proposals.

They call for broad investigations of domestic political groups, using "such standard intelligence techniques as wiretapping, mail covers, informants and (at least occasionally) illegal entries."

Private corporations are to be enlisted in this effort along with local and state police.

The president must lead the way,

the report states, by making speeches on "the reality of subversion and . . . the un-American nature of much so-called 'dissidence.'"

According to Jay Peterzell, writing in the January 17 *Nation* magazine, "the intelligence section of the 3,000-page report was actually drafted by conservative Congressional aides and advisers to Reagan's intelligence transition team. It represents a trial balloon for their maximum agenda."

The heart of the Heritage Foundation report, Peterzell explains, is to give the government free rein to spy on groups engaged in legal political activity.

It suggests some targets: foreign immigrants, "radical and New Left groups," and "anti-defense and anti-nuclear lobbies."

The report also urges the FBI snoop to check out "clergymen, students, businessmen, entertainers, labor officials, journalists and government workers [who] may engage in subversive activities without being fully aware of the extent, purposes, or control of their activities." Chilling proposals indeed!

But this program for turning the FBI and CIA loose against anybody whose political ideas the government doesn't like is not unique to the Reagan team.

It is essentially the same position put forward by the Carter administration in its response to the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit.

The shift toward "unleashing the dogs of McCarthyism," as the *Nation* article is titled, is a bipartisan one. It results not from the November elections but from the needs of the ruling capitalist minority, faced with revolutions abroad and rising discontent at home.

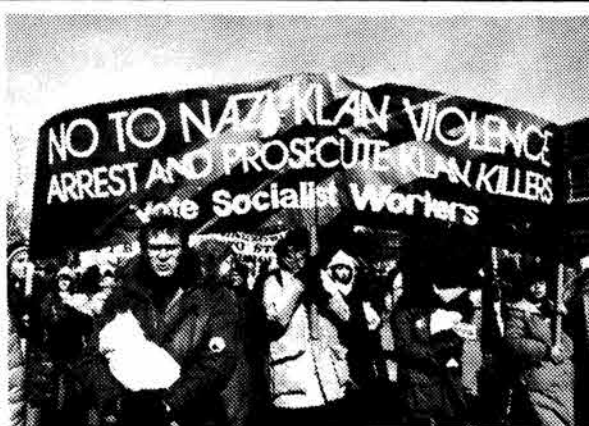
It's a decision made by the real government—the one nobody votes for.

—A.R.

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Dirty tricks get clean bill

By Vivian Sahner

"The Government does not deny that the FBI furnished the Austin Police Department, at its request, with the true, public information that [Evelyn] Sell had run for office on the SWP ticket" (emphasis in original).

That's how the government sanctimoniously describes its interstate, interagency conspiracy to get Evelyn Sell fired from her job.

In 1969 Sell was a Head Start (preschool) teacher in Austin, Texas, acknowledged even by the FBI to be "an intelligent, excellent teacher who was well qualified in her field."

But because she was a member of the Socialist Workers Party, the FBI wanted her fired.

Sell was well known as a supporter of the anti-Vietnam War movement in Austin. A trade union activist, she had been a delegate to the 1969 Michigan Federation of Teachers convention and, before she moved to Texas, had organized a special unit of the teachers union encompassing the preschool program.

The fact that Sell had run for public office in Michigan as an SWP candidate was checked out by the FBI in Detroit at the request of its San Antonio office and was confidentially passed on to Austin police, who then tipped off the Austin Independent School District.

School officials, with this information in hand, refused to renew Sell's contract at the end of the 1970 school year.

The FBI gave itself a pat on the back for all its hard work.



EVELYN SELL, MORRIS STARSKY: Victims of political firings instigated by FBI.

In a March 31, 1970, memorandum captioned "Evelyn Rose Sell, SM-SWP" (Security Matter—Socialist Workers Party), the FBI boasted, "The decision not to issue a new contract or consider the subject further for employment after the termination of her current contract is based upon information received from [deleted] the Austin Police Department."

Later, M.K. Hage, Jr., who served on the Austin School Board when Sell was fired, explained that "the social climate was such that we would fire anyone who was a socialist."

Another teacher targeted by the FBI was Morris Starsky, an Arizona State University philosophy professor.

Why? In a memo dated October 1, 1968, the Phoenix FBI declared that Starsky "by his actions, has continued to spotlight himself as a target for counterintelligence action."

These actions consisted of the following crimes against the state: "He and his wife were both named as presidential electors by and for the Socialist Workers Party when the SWP in August, 1968, gained a place on the ballot in Arizona. In addition they have signed themselves as treasurer and secretary respectively of the Arizona SWP."

The FBI was also well aware that Starsky was an antiwar leader on campus and a union activist who had helped reestablish the ASU chapter of the American Federation of Teachers.

What "counterintelligence" action did the FBI use? They manufactured a slander letter about Starsky, signed it "A concerned Alumnus," and mailed it to the university faculty committee.

Approval of the poison-pen letter was enthusiastically given by FBI headquarters in Washington. Its only cautionary note to the G-men was: "Prior to mailing, however, you should change the format in order to delete the caption 'Anonymous Letter to Members of the Faculty Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure, Arizona State University.'"

The letter provoked quite a furor among right-wing state legislators and university regents. The faculty committee held a hundred hours of public hearings on whether Starsky was entitled to teach at ASU.

Three thousand students and more than 250 professors signed a petition supporting Starsky's right to academic freedom.

The committee's members voted unanimously against dismissing Starsky. But the regents refused to renew his contract and he lost his job in June 1970.

At the time Starsky commented, "It's sort of like being found innocent and executed anyway."

In its trial document for the SWP and YSA lawsuit the government tells us "Starsky's claims must be dismissed. . . ."

Are they denying that the FBI sent the phony letter? No. They admit it.

But they insist it was all legal. And they're ready to do it again.

While the government is asserting a right to spy on the SWP and YSA for purely legal political activity, it is also working on another line of defense. Its plan for the trial states it will "introduce evidence . . . to demonstrate that the organizations' nature, goals, and activities are not what plaintiffs [SWP and YSA] say they are."

That is, the government says the SWP and YSA are involved in something other than legal political activity. Such as?

Well, the government doesn't exactly say. Instead it insinuates there may be some conspiracy afoot.

For example, federal attorneys have taken several depositions (sworn pretrial testimony) from Susan Wald, one of the socialist workers fired and then rehired at the Brooklyn Navy Yard (see accompanying story).

Government questioning has centered on why she applied for a job there. U.S. attorneys even demanded a list of everyone she had discussed her job plans with. (Wald declined to do so. The SWP long ago established in this suit that it does not have to provide the government with names of SWP or YSA members not already publicly known.)

'Sinister motive'

The Navy Yard case was discussed in a pretrial hearing December 31 before federal district Judge Thomas Griesa, who is presiding in the SWP and YSA suit.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Edward Williams declared: "We would like to have discovery of who Miss Wald talked to, why she took her employment, what the motives were. We have evidence which shows that she distributed literature on board a Navy ship in possible violation of Federal statutes."

Later on Williams said: "I'm inquiring of Miss Wald: Who did you discuss this with? What type of plan to have all of you people go at the same time to Coastal Dry Dock? In other words, what I'm saying is that there's a more sinister motive."

What the government evidently views as "sinister" is that SWP and YSA members hold jobs in industry, discuss politics with other workers, and participate in their unions.

In 1975 the party decided to concentrate its activity in this arena, since industrial workers are the central targets of the capitalist takeback drive and are in the strongest position to lead all working people in defending living standards and democratic freedoms.

The government doesn't like this at all, as the following exchange during the December 31 hearing shows. Edward Williams is an assistant U.S. attorney. Edward Copeland is an attorney for the SWP and YSA.

Williams: "The discussion bulletins produced to us have disclosed that there is such a plan, and indeed a resolution was adopted at a national convention to have people go into sensitive industries in order so that they be in a position to do whatever."

Judge Griesa: "What do you mean 'do whatever'?"

Williams: "This is what a proposal which was formally rejected—"

Judge Griesa: "Is that what the resolution said?"

Williams: "No, your Honor. I don't have the context before me. I don't have the text before me."

Copeland: "I believe the resolution was basic industry."

Judge Griesa: "To do what?"

Copeland: "Excuse me?"

Judge Griesa: "For what purpose?"

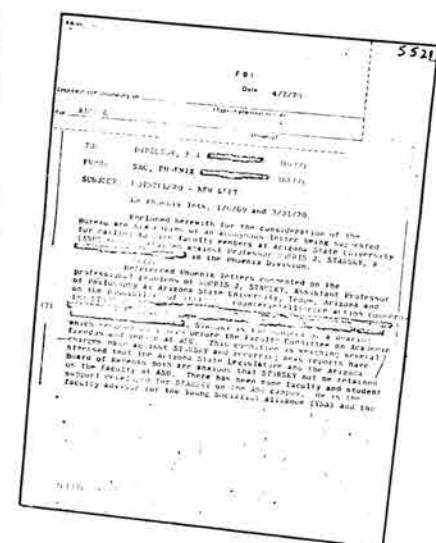
Copeland: "To work. I mean, this is a political party, your Honor, a political party which has people and which is active in the union effort and active in union campaigns."

'Is it illegal?'

Judge Griesa: "Is it illegal to go into an industry and talk about politics?"

Williams: "I'm sorry, your Honor?"

Judge Griesa: "Is there anything wrong in getting a job in, say, the Ford Motor Company and talking to your



FBI memo on Starsky firing obtained by SWP during lawsuit.

Continued from preceding page

through the socialists' garbage—"not tortious";

- CIA domestic spying—"not actionable";

- wiretaps—"approved by the Attorney General at a time when such surveillance was believed to be lawful" (and by implication OK now or in the future, whenever the government deems it lawful).

Lockheed & Navy Yard cases

Larry Seigle summed it up:

"The government is asserting," he said, "that the FBI and CIA can sneak around gathering information on you solely because of your political views."

"It can put you on secret lists if it doesn't like what you think."

"It can provide to your employer what it says is 'true information' about you. Since it's all done in secret, of course, you have no way of knowing what they say or of objecting to it."

"Then if the boss fires you, too bad. The FBI says it bears no responsibility."

That, Seigle pointed out, is exactly the pattern of recent political firings of socialist workers at the Brooklyn Navy Yard in New York and at Lockheed aircraft in Georgia.

At the Navy Yard, five pipefitters were fired by Coastal Dry Dock and

Repair Corporation last November at the instigation of the Navy. Documents showed that Naval Intelligence was also in contact with the FBI.

The reason for the firings was openly stated to be the workers' "engagement in political activity."

The socialists protested. Then the company realized it could get nailed in court for the illegal firings, and it rehired the workers the next day.

At Lockheed, nine socialists, members of the International Association of Machinists, were fired in De-

The Lockheed official also admitted going to the FBI for information on his "suspects."

The SWP and YSA are currently on a national campaign to win back the jobs of the nine unionists fired by Lockheed.

'Terrorist' slander

Among the information obtained from Lockheed was a secret memo about police "seminars" held by the federal Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms division in Atlanta, including discus-

'When we put the U.S. government on trial March 16, it will be the most direct challenge ever to the very foundations of their secret police apparatus.'

Larry Seigle, Socialist Workers Party

cember. The company claimed the reason was "falsifications" on their job applications.

But summoned to testify on the SWP and YSA suit, a Lockheed security cop admitted the workers were singled out for their political ideas and activities. In fact, company files on the fired workers were headed "SWP Case," with lists of "Identified SWP Members" and "Possible Suspects."

sions on the SWP. The ATF reportedly views the SWP as "a terrorist organization prone to violence."

Four decades of government "investigation" of the SWP has failed to produce a shred of evidence to back up this wild accusation. But this is evidently the sort of "true information" federal agencies are passing to employers for purposes of political witch-hunt-

fellow workers about politics, indeed to talking about whether you think there ought to be Socialism?"

Williams: "Your Honor, there is a Navy regulation and a statutory regulation against doing such political discussions on board a Navy ship."

Judge Griesa: "Is that right?"

Williams: "Yes, your Honor."

Copeland: "Your Honor—"

Judge Griesa: "You mean you can't go on a Navy ship and discuss politics?"

Williams: "That's right, your Honor. . . . There is such a statute."

Judge Griesa: "What's the name of the statute? Is it in the Code?"

Williams: "18 U.S.C. 2387."

Copeland: "Now, that is part of the Smith Act, your Honor."

Williams: "It's part of the mustier version of your books, I'm sure, your Honor. . . ."

Judge Griesa: "2387?"

Williams: "Yes, your Honor."

'Doesn't say any such thing'

Judge Griesa: "It doesn't say any such thing."

"It says, 'Whoever, with intent to interfere with, impair, or influence the loyalty, morale, or discipline of the military or naval forces of the United States, advises, counsels, urges, or in any manner causes or attempts to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty by any member of the military or naval force of the United States, or distributes or attempts to distribute any written or printed matter which advises, counsels, or urges insubordination—'"

Williams: "Underline that in your mind, your Honor, because that's the relevant sentence."

Judge Griesa: "What sentence?"

Williams: "Distribute literature."

Judge Griesa: "Which urges insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty—"

Williams: "Yes, your Honor."

Judge Griesa: "—by any member of the military or naval force of the United States."

"You said to me 30 seconds ago that it was illegal to talk about politics on a naval vessel."

"Now, that is not what 2387 says, by any means."

'Illegal activities'?

When pinned down, the government's dark hints of a conspiracy are revealed to be the claim that it's illegal

to talk about socialist ideas in "sensitive" industries.

The same conspiracy charge can be—and is—leveled against any workers who stand up for safety, higher pay, or union rights in military-related plants. And the notion of "sensitive" industries can be—and is—broadened to include anything vital to the capitalist economy.

The government's legal arguments keep turning back to the Smith Act, a discredited piece of thought-control legislation making it a crime to "advocate, abet, advise, or teach" any ideas that federal authorities interpret as calling for overthrow of the government "by force or violence."

It was used to convict eighteen leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Teamsters union in 1941. Leaders of the Communist Party were also convicted under the Smith Act in the 1940s and early '50s. Since then, however, Supreme Court decisions have weakened the government's ability to use this reactionary law.

The Smith Act figured prominently in the December 31 hearing when Williams told Judge Griesa there "absolutely" is evidence of illegal activity in the government's files on past and present SWP leaders. The SWP had requested the complete files on Jack Barnes, James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Joseph Hansen, Andrew Pulley, and Carl Skoglund.

"There is loads of illegal activities," Williams repeated a moment later.

'Is there anything wrong in getting a job in, say, the Ford Motor Company and talking to your fellow workers about politics, indeed to talking about whether you think there ought to be socialism?'

Federal Judge Thomas Griesa

What activities? the judge asked.

Williams cited the 1941 Smith Act convictions.

Judge Griesa: "But we are now basically dealing with later periods."

Williams: "The focus of the trial, your Honor, will be: Was the investigation justified? That's going to be one of the issues at trial."

Judge Griesa: "You said loads of illegal activity. In the case of Mr. Cannon, was there anything after his Smith Act conviction?"



Leaders of Socialist Workers Party and Teamsters union convicted under Smith 'thought control' Act during World War II. (Two men at right are federal marshals.) Gov't keeps turning back to Smith Act in its new claims to have evidence of 'loads of illegal activities' by SWP.

Williams: "I don't know, your Honor. Your Honor, what I am trying to avoid is having a situation where impossible burdens are being put on the government to produce six huge files. I just want your Honor to realize that. We are trying to explore all alternatives. I

threatened illegal activity do you claim they show?"

What's at stake

"No matter how they twist and turn," SWP leader Seigle told the *Militant*, "the government can't get away from the real issue—is it legal to advocate and put into practice the ideas of the SWP?"

"That's what will be fought out when we put the government on trial March 16. We'll fight it out not just before twelve members of a jury, but before as many of the American people as we can reach."

"The ideas of Marxism are at the heart of this case," Seigle emphasized.

"In the trial we will explain those ideas and why they represent the historic interests of the working class, the only progressive class in modern society, why we have a right to organize, to disseminate our ideas, and to participate in politics. And we will explain why the rights of all Americans are at stake."

"As the battle lines are drawn and the issues clearly posed, we're confident the vast majority of people will side with us and not with the born-again witch-hunters."

Feds up to more tricks in Navy Yard

By Vivian Sahner

The government isn't making idle threats with its trial document claiming the right to spy on and finger socialists on the job.

In the Brooklyn Navy Yard that's just what they've been doing. Months of plotting and spying by the Naval Intelligence Service and the FBI almost cost five pipefitters their jobs.

Now the government has launched another campaign of harassment against these workers.

Susan Wald, one of those victimized by the government, has been interrogated three times by the New York U.S. Attorney's office. She was repeatedly grilled about how and why she got a job in the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

To most people the right to a job and the right to express your political views seem fundamental. But not to the government.

"It's outrageous," Wald told the *Militant*. "Three times I've been questioned by the government and asked about my personal life. They want to know every address I've lived at, where and when I went to school, and each job I've had," she said.

"They even asked if my mother

knew I was applying for a job at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

"They act like they've stumbled onto something big. They want to hear over and over about how I discussed getting a job at the Navy Yard with other members of the SWP," she added.

"I guess they never read any of the SWP's books or pamphlets. They would have known years ago that SWP and YSA members get jobs in union shops. It's no secret."

"Being in a union makes a big difference. Workers can stand together better to improve our wages and working conditions."

"When a union like the Machinists comes out against draft registration, or when the West Coast longshore union boycotts shipments to the junta in El Salvador, they're protecting the lives of workers here and abroad."

"So we think it's important to be active union members and we encourage other workers to do the same."

"And we don't think we should have any less right to be active in our unions or in politics because we work on military ships."

"I think it's particularly scandalous that the Navy has targeted Marilyn Vogt and me. We are two of a handful of women who have been

able to get jobs in the Navy Yard," Wald added.

"There has been no complaint about our work as pipefitters—we helped break down the sexist myth that women can't handle these jobs. But now they are after us because of our political beliefs."

During December lawyers for the SWP and YSA lawsuit uncovered more details of how the Naval Intelligence Service worked with the FBI and other government agencies to victimize the five pipefitters.

Sworn testimony from Lt. Jr. Grade Timothy Dowding and Lt. Bruce Van Belle confirmed statements by Commanding Officer J.R. Kott that the Navy wanted to have the socialists barred from repair work on Navy ships. Naval Intelligence Service special agent Albert Marretta was also questioned by the lawyers.

Dowding, who had ordered the sailors in his department to turn in any SWP literature they had, admitted that the NIS had been at the Navy Yard early last fall asking about the SWP.

Both Marretta and Van Belle denied this.

Van Belle denied interrogating sailors about their discussions with the socialists. Then he handed over

notes from interviews that he claims two sailors "volunteered."

In the two interviews the sailors describe how socialists discussed politics with them and offered them copies of the *Militant*. One sailor reported that he was invited to a New York rally in support of the H-Block Irish freedom fighters.

After the five were fired and rehired, the Navy realized it was holding a hot potato.

NIS special agent Marretta turned over to the socialists' lawyers a copy of the Navy's instructions to its personnel to deny any plot.

"Consider it prudent to be prepared to respond to media inquiries," the NIS memo instructs. Then it provides official Navy answers.

If the media ask why the five socialists were fired, Navy personnel are to say, "I'll have to refer you to Coastal Drydock on that question."

If asked why the Navy wanted the five off of the ships, they are to repeat "that the ideas professed in their literature was [sic] considered contrary to good order and discipline."

Would the Navy try to bar the socialists from the *USS Milwaukee*, another ship being repaired in the yard? The Navy's answer is, "I cannot comment on that at this time."

Salvador freedom forces launch offensive

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA, January 12—Thirty-six hours after the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) issued its General Order No. 1 calling for insurrection against the military/Christian Democratic junta, towns and cities throughout El Salvador were already falling to the revolutionary forces.

Santa Ana, El Salvador's second largest city with a population of 100,000, came under FMLN control on January 11 after a lieutenant colonel and a captain rebelled and led 80 troops over to the side of the revolutionary forces. The rebels burned the military barracks and captured a tank and other armored vehicles.

Chalatenango, an important city in the north of the country, fell to the FMLN at midday on January 12. The revolutionaries also laid siege to the nearby military base at El Paraíso, where a force of five hundred Nicaraguan ex-National Guardsmen was stationed.

Troop rebellions similar to the one in Santa Ana were reported in the north-central town of Sensuntepeque and the southeastern city of San Miguel.

One of the most strategically important initial actions of the revolutionary offensive was a heavy attack on the main military airbase at Ilopango, east of the capital. Guerrillas armed with rockets, mortars, and bazookas destroyed or damaged all the aircraft located there, except for three helicopters. Thirty junior air force officers went over to the side of the revolution after having been captured by the FMLN forces.

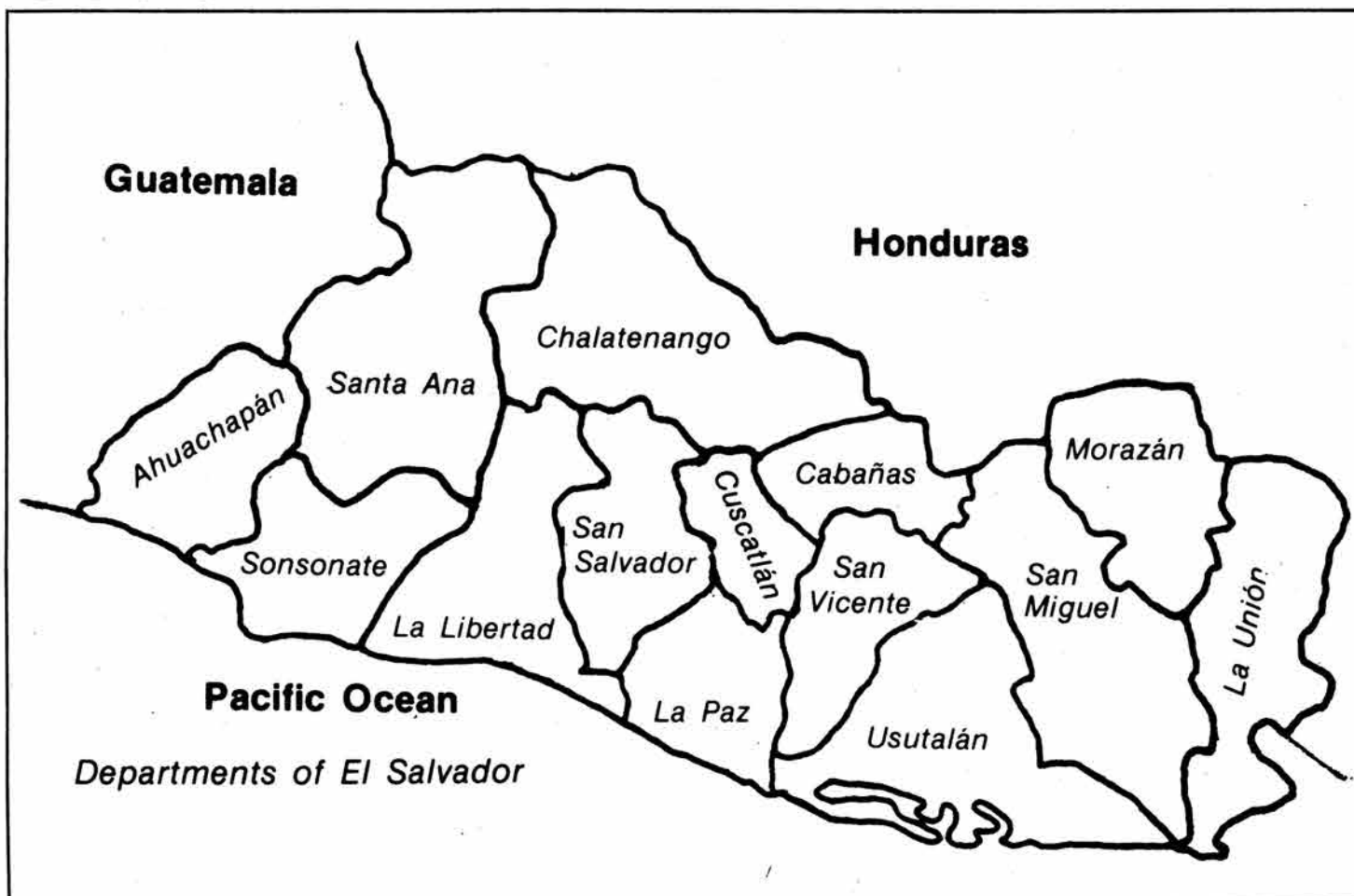
Town after town in the northeastern province of Morazán was taken over by the FMLN, and revolutionary troops were advancing from northern Morazán on the key military base at San Francisco Gotera.

From the province of San Vicente, an FMLN stronghold in the central part of the country, a guerrilla column of 2,000 troops was reportedly advancing along the Pan American highway toward San Salvador.

Fighting was also reported in the southwestern town of Sonsonate, in the south-central cities of Zacatecoluca and Usulután, and in the southeastern port of La Unión.

Fighting in San Salvador

In the capital itself, the insurrection began during the night of January 10-11, with uprisings in most of the poor and working-class neighborhoods and suburbs along the northern edge of the city. Barricades constructed from overturned buses, automobiles, and even



railroad cars were set up at the main entrances to Cuscatancingo, Mejicanos, Ciudad Delgado, Ayutuxtepeque, and other neighborhoods.

The San Carlos military barracks and the headquarters of the National Guard in the capital were both reportedly under attack on January 11. Heavy fighting was under way in the towns of San Marcos and Santo Tomás, immediately south of San Salvador.

The general strike called as part of the insurrectionary offensive was already beginning to take hold on Sunday, January 11. In the capital, bus and taxi drivers stopped work and shopkeepers and street vendors halted commerce.

In calling for the general strike, the clandestine FMLN station Radio Liberación issued concrete instructions to various sectors of the population:

"If you have a bus, a taxi, a truck, or other means of transportation, halt your normal activity and come with your vehicle to take part in the general strike and insurrection. The compañeros who are organized in the struggle will give directions so that your help can be most effective."

A special appeal was issued to "priest and nun compañeros":

"At this historic moment in the struggle of the Salvadoran people, you should join in the tasks of the residents of your parishes.

"You should organize the functioning of your churches as places of refuge. . . . You should help collect and distribute food.

"Remember that as good Christians your place is alongside the people. And the way to stand at the side of the people is to participate in the activities of the insurrection."

Radio Liberación carried continual appeals to Salvadoran soldiers and officers to rebel and join the insurrection:

"Members of the army, officers, troops—the time has come for you to decide to struggle alongside the people. Think about the fact that many of you come from poor families and that your own relatives are fighting in the ranks of the revolutionary forces."

Lt. Col. Ricardo Bruno Navarrete of the National Guard announced over Radio Liberación on January 11 that he had joined the FMLN in Morazán province.

"Many will now say that I am an ungrateful communist traitor," Navarrete said, "but I can only respond that with the appointment of Napoleón Duarte as president of the junta, the final opportunity for civic struggle has been closed off. . . .

"The doors are open for all who want to join the new Salvadoran army. Progressive military compañeros—the moment has arrived to assume your historic responsibility."

The troop and officer rebellion in Santa Ana, Sensuntepeque, San Miguel, and Ilopango show that such appeals are having a strong impact. Further desertions and rebellions have been reported in other areas as well.

Rats flee

No sooner had the FMLN announced its insurrectionary offensive than disarray was evident in the ruling military/Christian Democratic government. Junta member José Antonio Morales Ehrlich fled the country on January 11, arriving in Costa Rica on what he said was a "brief personal visit"—but carrying fifteen suitcases!

The government's initial response to the offensive was to declare a 7:00 p.m. to 5:00 a.m. curfew throughout the country. All radio stations were ordered to join a national network. President Duarte broadcast an appeal saying that "the duty of all Salvadorans is to go to work, with everyone making a big effort to help the great offensive for peace."

The government network also repeatedly broadcast a cryptic message to members of the armed forces: "Santa Claus has Christmas greetings for everyone and wants to see you all."

Ask Reagan's help

On January 11, Duarte held a news conference in the capital and openly called on Ronald Reagan to intervene in El Salvador. "President Reagan must understand what is happening in this country," Duarte said. "Mr. Reagan is a product of democracy, and the first thing I would call on him or any other president of the United States to do is to support democracy."

According to a report telephoned from San Salvador to the reactionary bourgeois daily *La Prensa* here, an official Salvadoran army bulletin was repeatedly broadcast over radio and television "denying information coming from Nicaragua and Cuba to the effect that there was strong control by the urban guerrillas in some cities and towns of El Salvador. . . ."

Army spokesmen did acknowledge the loss of control in Santa Ana, however, charging "treason" by the rebel officers there.

As the FMLN-led revolutionary forces continue dealing heavy blows to the Salvadoran armed forces, the danger of foreign military intervention against the insurrection mounted. On January 12 Guatemalan troops were reportedly being concentrated at the border post of Las Chinamas, sixty-seven kilometers east of Santa Ana.

According to FMLN representative Valentín Martínez in Mexico, the U.S. State Department and Pentagon have ordered U.S. embassies in Europe to prepare diplomatic efforts to justify a military intervention in El Salvador.

Not Santo Domingo

At a Mexico City news conference January 11, Guillermo Ungo, a leader of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) answered such threats. "The United States will encounter problems that will make it difficult to transform such simplistic notions into facts," Ungo said. "An armed intervention is easy to conceive but difficult to carry out. It will not be a stroll through the countryside. The scenario is not the same as that of Santo Domingo.

"There will be a regional response—the people of Central America will respond."

From Intercontinental Press

U.S. war planes destroyed on Puerto Rican base

By Nelson González

Nine U.S. military jets were destroyed and two more badly damaged when time bombs exploded in them January 12 at Muñiz Air National Guard base in Puerto Rico.

Ten of the planes were A-7D Corsair II fighter-bombers. The other was an F-104 Starfighter that was on display at the base, which is adjacent to the runways of the International Airport near San Juan. The bombing knocks out more than half the planes of the Tactical Combat Wing of the Puerto Rican Air National Guard. Damage was estimated at \$45 million.

The Macheteros, a group calling for independence for the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico, issued a statement taking credit for the attack. The Macheteros are also known as El Ejército Popular Boricua (Popular Boricua Army).

According to a report in the

January 14 New York daily *El Diario/La Prensa*, the statement said that the attack was "in response to the necessity of our people to continue struggling against the North American colonial yoke.

"The attack expresses our solidarity with the sisters and brothers of El Salvador and their revolutionary organizations integrated in the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, which is struggling to the death against a regime that oppresses and murders them, and against the efforts being made to use the military forces of our country against them."

In November, Roberto Cuéllar, spokesman for the Legal Aid Fund of the Archbishop's office in San Salvador, exposed a plan for military intervention in El Salvador. He revealed that Operation Centaur projected the training on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques of thousands of troops from Costa Rica, Colombia, and Venezuela to attack El Salvador.

As rebels report gains

Guatemala, Honduras threaten intervention

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA, January 14—Thousands of Guatemalan and Honduran army troops are being mobilized for intervention in El Salvador, according to reports reaching here today.

Representatives of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador said in Costa Rica January 13 that motorized divisions of the Guatemalan army had already entered El Salvador and were taking up positions in the western provinces of Santa Ana and Ahuachapán.

The FDR also said Honduran air force planes were bombing Salvadoran rebel positions in Chalatenango province near the Honduran border.

According to the Salvadoran news agency, SALPRESS, a Honduran army officer revealed that 3,000 troops from his country and 2,000 Guatemalan troops would soon intervene in El Salvador. "We will send three divisions from the Tenth Battalion based in San Pedro Sula, paratroopers, and special 'Cobra' troops," the Honduran officer told SALPRESS.

In Guatemala, official government news releases acknowledged the deployment of troops toward the Salvadoran border from military bases in Jutiapa and Zacapa.

According to news reports from Panama, twelve big C-141 transport planes loaded with U.S. troops arrived at Howard Air Force Base in the Canal Zone on January 11. Helicopter flights in and out of the base have intensified in recent days.

On January 10, a Salvadoran military delegation reportedly met with top officials of the Pentagon's Southern Command at the Howard Air Force Base.

While reports on the military situation are fragmentary and at times contradictory, it is clear that reactionary forces are looking for any opportunity to intervene on the side of the beleaguered Salvadoran dictatorship.

General strike

With the beginning of the general strike in El Salvador, called by the FDR on January 13, a powerful new element was added to the revolutionary offensive to bring down the military/Christian Democratic regime in El Salvador.

Most transportation in the capital was already shut down beginning January 11, when the Bus Owners' Association announced its support to the FDR. On January 13, more than forty of El Salvador's large industrial plants were paralyzed. Bank workers joined the strike at mid-day, as did public employees in the education, justice, and labor ministries, and in the offices of the Social Security Institute.

Industrial activity in Santa Ana, San Miguel, and La Unión, the country's largest cities after San Salvador, was reported totally halted on January 13.

Agricultural workers had also joined the strike in massive numbers. Many are being incorporated into the revolutionary armed forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

Junta vs. journalists

The junta is doing its best to prevent information on the rebels' offensive from getting out.

All radio stations in the country have been forced to join a single government-controlled network. On January 13, journalists were ordered not to travel outside the capital without official permission from the armed forces.



Informaciones de El Salvador
Salvadoran liberation fighters

On January 12, Venezuelan filmmaker and journalist Nelson Arrieti was arrested by security forces and accused of "having had contact with guerrilla groups." The whereabouts of

Arrieti's colleague Hernán Vera, seized by police at the same time, were unknown. An American reporter, John J. Sullivan, disappeared in El Salvador in late December and is still missing.

Summaries of the military situation prepared by the New Nicaragua News Agency (ANN) here indicated the following as of January 13:

After troops and officers rebelled in Santa Ana, El Salvador's second largest city, on January 10, the revolutionary forces held the city for three days and then carried out a tactical retreat when government reinforcements arrived.

The FMLN controlled the provincial capital of San Vicente and eight other towns in that province. Fighting was reported in the provincial capitals of San Francisco Gotera (Morazán province), Chalatenango, Sonsonate, La Unión, San Miguel, Sensuntepeque (Cabañas province), and Zacatecoluca (La Paz province).

A battle was also under way at Puente de Oro, a major bridge on the Coastal Highway linking the eastern and western halves of the country. FMLN forces had seized the bridge on January 11.

In the capital area, the FMLN reportedly controlled six major neighborhoods of San Salvador, the towns of Apopa, San Marcos, and Santo Tomás, and the suburbs of Mejicanos, Cuscatancingo, Ciudad Delgado, and Soyapango.

In all, the FMLN was said to control more than thirty towns in six provinces. Fighting was reported in dozens of other locations throughout the country. Government forces were experiencing great difficulties in logistics and communications owing to the widespread rebel attack.

Nicaraguans pledge solidarity with revolution

By Arnold Weissberg

MANAGUA, January 12—The revolutionary offensive in El Salvador has sparked an outpouring of solidarity here in Nicaragua.

Not only is the bitter struggle against the Somoza dictatorship vividly remembered, but as internationalists the Nicaraguan people look upon the revolution in El Salvador as their own.

As the news of the offensive became known here there was widespread jubilation and a series of spontaneous celebrations.

The Managua daily *Barricada* put out a special afternoon edition and Radio Sandino suspended normal programming in order to provide continual coverage of news from El Salvador.

Solidarity with El Salvador was also one of the themes of a January 10 rally in Managua commemorating the third

anniversary of the assassination of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro. Commander Luis Carrión of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) National Directorate warned of the dangers of imperialist intervention.

"We are absolutely confident that the people of El Salvador will win, even if there is an intervention. But we also know that the danger of intervention poses a grave threat, not only for the heroic people of El Salvador but also for our own people, who will see any military aggression against El Salvador as a military aggression against Nicaragua as well.

"The imperialists can cut off our credit, our export quotas, and many other things, but they will never take away our sovereignty, our freedom, the dignity of our people or our revolutionary principles."

Speaking only a few hours before the

call for insurrection in El Salvador, Carrión promised that the Nicaraguan people would share their already meager supplies of food and fuel with the Salvadorans:

"We don't have any big surplus to give them, or material resources. Everything we give them, we will have to deny ourselves; we will share our poverty with the people of El Salvador."

As soon as the insurrection began the Nicaraguan Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples (CNSP) announced a national campaign of fund-raising and material aid for El Salvador. This was matched by similar announcements from the Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMN), the Rural Workers Association (ATC), the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), and various local unions.

Dozens of messages of solidarity from local and national mass organizations flooded Radio Sandino, the station reported.

The AMN and the ATC said they would organize their members to give a Sunday as voluntary labor for El Salvador.

The mass organizations in the city of Matagalpa and in Carazo Province each pledged to raise 10,000 cordobas (US\$1,000). Workers at PROCON, a nationalized construction materials company, pledged 5,000 cordobas.

The CST announced a campaign to increase production and lower consumption in order to be able to send basic food stuffs to El Salvador if necessary. The labor federation was also collecting clothing and medicine.

Workers at Augusto Cesar Sandino International Airport announced that they were ready to donate blood.

The CST, July 19 Sandinista Youth, ATC, CDSs, and other organizations announced plans for a January 15 protest march to the Salvadoran embassy here to demand "No intervention in El Salvador—El Salvador will win!"

Interviews in *Barricada* gave a glimpse of the sentiments of Nicaraguans towards the struggle in El Salvador. "I'm glad that the final offensive and triumph are near," said Rosa Cruz, sixty years old, a former domestic worker. "I prayed to God that the insurrection would come, even if those kids in El Salvador had to eat nothing but tortillas and salt, because to live better you have to fight. You have to know how to die and you have to know how to live."

Thirteen-year-old Mayra Urbina Espinoza told *Barricada* that "the way we can help the Salvadoran people is by working harder to achieve the goals of our revolution."

The spirit of the people of Sandino was summed up by a compañero who told *El Nuevo Diario*, "If we are Sandinistas, we are anti-imperialists. And if we are anti-imperialists, we are internationalists."

Meanwhile, in an interview published in the January 13 *Barricada*, Edén Pastora, head of the Sandinista People's Militias, called for 200,000 new militia members. "The militias, along with our armed forces, guarantee the defense of our revolution," Comandante Pastora said. "Without militias, without a people organized, armed, and trained, we wouldn't be able to defend ourselves, because this country isn't defended by 30,000 people, [the regular army] but by everyone."



Mass in Nicaragua for four missionaries killed in El Salvador

Militant/Fred Murphy

From Intercontinental Press

Millions 'take Saturday off'

Polish workers push for say in economy

By Suzanne Haig

From the Baltic ports of Gdansk, Gdynia, and Szczecin, to Warsaw and southwestern Silesia, millions of industrial workers brought Poland to a standstill Saturday, January 10.

The action followed a decision by delegates of the independent union, Solidarity, calling for a five-day, forty-hour workweek for its members until the government comes up with "properly explained, new proposals." January 10 was the first Saturday off.

At some factories, such as the Huta Warszawa steel works, a small crew, following the union's guidelines, stayed on to keep the blast furnaces going so future work would not be disrupted.

Both the Polish government and the Moscow press have charged that a forty-hour week would have a disastrous effect on the economy. Warsaw even threatened to dock the workers a day's pay, but Solidarity has said it will strike if this is carried out.

Solidarity's goal, however, is not an arbitrary cut in the workweek regardless of the cost to the economy.

As one Solidarity spokesperson put it, "The stand of the government and Solidarity should not be treated as a confrontation but as a first stage leading to an agreement."

"If Solidarity gets information showing the entire seriousness of the economic situation, Solidarity may change its decision. Talks will be resumed."

One worker from the Roza Luksemburg light bulb factory touched at the heart of the current struggle. "Maybe it

is necessary to work some Saturdays," he explained, "but our position is that this should be decided at the local factory level. We are the ones who know best what the factory needs."

Since the first days of the strikes in Poland last August, workers have argued that this is the way to solve Poland's economic problems. The call for a full and open discussion on the country's socioeconomic problems, along with an end to the special privileges of police and government officials, was a central part of the August 30 Gdansk agreement between the government and the workers.

It stated in part: "The new trade unions should have a real opportunity to publicly express an opinion on key decisions that determine the living conditions of working people, the principle under which the national income is divided into consumption and investment, how the social consumption fund (health, education, culture) is divided, the basic principles of income and wage policy, especially the principle of automatic wage indexation in conditions of inflation, long-term economic plans, and investment policy and price changes."

It is the absence of such workers' democracy on every level of planning that accounts for the current struggle.

The idea that the government must go forward with reforms and change how decisions are made has support among the Polish Communist Party's rank and file.

Workers at the Roza Luksemburg plant say that approximately 1,000 CP members there joined the vote in favor of taking January 10 off.



Workers struck in August for right to participate in making decisions on economic and social policy.

The *Christian Science Monitor* reported that CP members have been meeting across the country.

Many members support the reforms called for by the workers but see the bureaucracy thwarting their implementation.

Even the Polish government press is hinting that the leadership is responsible for the economic crisis. "Reform of the economy is not enough, the renew-

al [reforms in the CP] is not enough," wrote *Zycie Warszawy*, Warsaw's main paper January 2. "What is needed is to build barriers that guarantee all reforms will not be annihilated."

The paper called for "openness of political life" in the party and the dismissals of incompetent officials.

Arising out of the demands for participation by the masses in economic decisions is the formation of the farmers' union, Rural Solidarity. Although not officially recognized, the organization claims 600,000 members out of a total of 3.5 million farmers, who sell the bulk of their produce to the state.

On December 30 the Supreme Court postponed the decision on Rural Solidarity's legality.

In a January 11 speech, Communist Party leader Stanislaw Kania opposed the farmers' union, calling it antisocialist, while also promising more social and economic benefits for the farmers.

On the same day, police removed sixty workers occupying the town hall in Nowy Sacz, in southern Poland. The demonstrators were demanding an investigation of local corruption.

In response, Solidarity has called a state of "strike readiness" at southern factories until the government negotiates with the farmers' union, meets with the workers in Nowy Sacz, and explains the reason for the eviction.

Behind the continued tug of war between the Polish masses and the government is the still unsettled question: Who is to run the economy, the workers and farmers or the bureaucracy?

TMI: 'cancer growing on nuclear industry'

By Suzanne Haig

Nearly two years after the near-catastrophe, Three Mile Island sits "like a cancer growing on the industry."

That's the way Carl Walske, president of the Atomic Industrial Forum, sees it.

And he's right. The damaged reactor remains a constant reminder of what can happen as long as this country uses nuclear power.

That's why the utility companies, nuclear investors, and the government are desperately seeking to get TMI number 2 cleaned up and running again by 1985.

They also want to get TMI number 1, the damaged reactor's twin, re-started as early as mid-year. TMI number 1, shut down for refueling in January 1979, was scheduled to reopen when the accident occurred March 28.

But neither the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) nor the owner, General Public Utilities Corp. (GPU) know how to clean up TMI number 2, because no accident like it has ever happened.

No one knows, for instance, what to do with the 596,000 to 750,000 gallons of highly radioactive water that flooded the basement and sump pumps of TMI number 2, according to a January 6 article in the *New York Times*.

Moreover, the internal systems of the plant are still leaking water into the sump at the rate of one gallon every ten minutes. The water in the containment building is now eight and one half feet deep, and still rising by about one inch every month.

GPU claims it will cost at least \$1.5 billion to repair the reactor.

Residents of the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, area, where TMI is located, want both reactors shut down for good. They also contend that the system installed to filter the contaminated water, a process scheduled to begin following NRC approval—is highly dangerous.

Once the water goes through filters



Harrisburg, Pa., demonstration, April 1979.

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

that strip away most of the radioactive elements, it and the radioactive material will be stored in separate tanks.

"It is very nice to talk about cleaning up the water," Jean Kohr, counsel to the Susquehanna Valley Alliance, told the *New York Times*. "The problem is that when the water is run through those filters, the radioactive wastes become extremely concentrated, and in the process, the radioactivity is moved outside of the containment building, and it will be in canisters that may leak on an island that is in the middle of our drinking water."

Kohr reports that radioactivity has been found in sumps near the storage site of canisters used by the company in a similar cleanup, and she suspects they are leaking.

"Until they find a way to get the concentrated radioactive wastes off the island, our position is that they should do nothing."

In the wake of outrage over the accident at Three Mile Island, GPU is

on the verge of becoming the first utility company to go bankrupt since the depression. Banks have tightened GPU's credit, state rate-making agencies have limited the amount it can charge customers, and the company's insurance is running out. This is the reason GPU is so anxious to get TMI number 1, the undamaged reactor, running again.

GPU's solution to its financial impasse is to follow Chrysler's lead and seek a federal bailout.

"We're not asking for charity," declared William Kuhns, GPU's chairman. "We feel there's a national responsibility."

GPU also wants to get former TMI customers in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, along with the government, to pay for the clean-up.

Whether to grant aid to GPU could be a major battle in congress, according to the *Times*. "At issue will be the commitment of the Reagan administration to nuclear power, the Govern-

ment's role in helping failing industrial concerns and the extent to which local disasters are a national responsibility."

The problems of GPU extend to the entire nuclear power industry. Added regulations, since the TMI accident, coupled with growing opposition to nuclear power have made the building and use of reactors a shaky business.

As the *Times* put it, "The very future of nuclear power may be at stake, because few utilities are expected to build another nuclear facility until they can be sure of protection from the costs of a disaster like Three Mile Island."

Under discussion is the idea of creating some sort of insurance against such disasters that could restore confidence to investors.

The nuclear industry knows that nuclear power is deadly, but all they consider in their decisions on whether or not to go ahead is the financial cost of a disaster. If there are profits to be made, they will go ahead, even if the entire human race is endangered.

The government, ever ready to help industry make its profits, cannot be relied upon to stop the use of nuclear power.

An effective opposition has to come from those who have everything to gain and nothing to lose from ending it—working people, for whom nuclear power is a life and death question.

The truth is that nuclear power is not necessary to the economy. There's plenty of coal, for example, to use in the interim, while sources of energy like solar power, are developed.

The United Mine Workers Union has been campaigning for coal and against nuclear power. Its involvement in the antinuclear struggle points the way for the labor movement as a whole. Deepening the activity of the trade unions in this fight can force the shutdown of all nuclear plants, and truly turn TMI into the nuclear industry's Waterloo.

What Reaganomics means for American workers

By William Gottlieb

Can working people look forward to some relief from skyrocketing prices, high interest rates, and unemployment under the incoming administration of Ronald Reagan?

In the last two years of the Democratic administration conditions sharply worsened for working people. Real income for workers has been falling since 1978, the longest sustained drop since World War II, with no turnaround in sight.

Interest rates skyrocketed to unprecedented levels during 1980 and unemployment zoomed as the economy tumbled into recession.

It was largely due to these terrible economic conditions that President Carter was defeated in his recent bid for reelection.

How does Ronald Reagan propose to meet this crisis?

Writing in the January 9 edition of the *Wall Street Journal*, Reagan described his program as follows: "The significant, across-the-board income-tax cuts I have proposed are designed not to 'stimulate' the economy as some critics used to thinking in terms of economic 'fine-tuning' may believe. Rather, the purpose of the tax cuts is more basic: to correct our chronic economic problems through a policy aimed at encouraging human incentive and innovation."

Kemp-Roth plan

While the incoming administration has yet to make specific suggestions, the cornerstone of the Reagan program is the Kemp-Roth plan for an across-the-board cut in the federal income tax of 10 percent per year over the next three years.

This means that everybody, regardless of their tax bracket, will pay 10 percent less federal income tax than the year before. So the lion's share of the tax cuts go to those with the highest income.

For example, those in the lowest tax bracket currently pay 14 percent of their income in federal income taxes, while those in the highest income bracket pay 70 percent.

Under Kemp-Roth the rate of taxation will fall from 70 percent to about 51 percent for people with the highest incomes. Those with the lowest will experience a modest fall from 14 percent to about 10 percent.

When rising Social Security taxes, which hit low-income workers the

hardest, are taken into account, the shift in the tax burden off the rich is even more striking.

Reagan is also considering a cut in the corporate income tax rate from 46 percent to 40 percent, expanding exemptions from estate taxes, and the institution of tax credits for private school tuition.

Reagan also wants to cut corporate taxes further in the form of accelerated business depreciation allowances.

The incoming administration is also committed to getting rid of federal regulations that interfere with business profits.

An example of this "deregulation" is the plan to get rid of the remaining controls on oil and natural gas prices. This will have a massive inflationary impact. The November 26 *Wall Street Journal* quotes a Reagan adviser as saying, "If we're going to have inflationary jolts, we should take them early."

Bipartisan effort

This is a bipartisan effort. Far from offering opposition to this drive to shift the tax burden from the rich to the

taxes on 40 percent of their income. And if the Senate Democrats have their way, this would drop to only 30 percent. Adding all these regressive tax proposals of the Democrats and Republicans together, taxable income on capital gains would fall to 15 percent compared to 25 percent during the boom days of the 1950s and early 1960s. The maximum federal income tax rate would be only 51 percent compared to 91 percent in that earlier time of capitalist prosperity.

Military spending

How are these massive tax cuts for the rich going to be paid for? One thing that both the Reagan camp and the Democratic "opposition" agree on is that it will not be by reductions in military spending.

"The Carter administration plans to propose a defense budget of \$196.4 billion more than for fiscal 1981," the *Wall Street Journal* reported January 5.

The Reagan administration is expected to ask for even larger increases for fiscal 1982. In addition it reportedly plans to ask for much larger appropria-



The working farmer is not overlooked, either. The January 9 *Wall Street Journal* reported that "Mr. Stockman [Reagan's top budget adviser] said that he holds 'a rather dim opinion' of agricultural price-support programs. 'I hope we could move away from what obviously are out-of-date support levels,' he said."

Other cutbacks that are being considered are a slowing down of public works programs, job training, urban development grants, and support for the arts.

So this is the Reagan (as well as the Democratic) program: tax cuts for the rich, spending increases for the mil-

DOONESBURY



working people, the Democrats are offering suggestions to help the process along.

For example, the Democratic-controlled Senate Finance Committee passed a measure that would increase from 60 to 70 percent the exclusion of capital gains from taxable income.

Capital gains refers to income gained from stock market and other forms of speculation. People who work for a living pay taxes on their entire income. But people who make their living speculating in stocks only pay

tions for fiscal 1981 with some talk of a \$20 billion increase on top of the record \$171.4 billion war budget asked for by Carter.

Another budget line the Democrats and Republicans certainly don't plan to cut is the holy of holies, the payments on the national debt. "Interestingly, Democrats and Republicans who have studied spending have come up with remarkably similar candidates for cuts," the *New York Times* commented.

What these cuts are is indicated by James M. Perry and Albert R. Hunt in the January 9 *Wall Street Journal*.

They include cuts in Social Security benefits. Perry and Hunt write, "The Reagan planners believe it makes more sense, politically and fiscally, to attack pieces of the system than to try to curb annual cost-of-living increases for all Social Security recipients. 'First, it's easier to take on four to five million people than 33 million,' says one strategist."

The Food Stamp program is also a key target. According to Perry and Hunt, "Recipients would have to submit their average income over the past 90 days to qualify rather than estimate their income over the next 30, as now. One effect would be to eliminate many short-term strikers from eligibility. . . . In all, they hope to cut the number of food-stamp recipients to 15 million from 23 million."

Unemployment insurance

Nor is unemployment insurance being neglected, in spite of the fact that unemployment remains high from the 1980 recession and renewed recession in 1981 is considered likely. Perry and Hunt write, "Elimination of the national 'trigger' for an additional 13 weeks of unemployment compensation" is being planned.

itary, and cutbacks for the workers and farmers.

Resistance feared

The rulers fear that massive resistance may develop to their program. As a result they are trying to push it through quickly, in the "first hundred days" and thereby confront the working people with an accomplished fact. This explains why some of Reagan's advisers have suggested that he declare an "economic emergency".

As former Nixon Secretary of the Treasury William Simon said, "Good economic policy is a politician's nightmare."

But is it good economic policy?

The Democrats and the Republicans are saying that by raising the profits of the rich at the expense of the working people, investment will pick up and capitalist prosperity will be restored, with everybody benefiting in the long run. This is popularly known as the "trickle down theory."

This is false to the core. The current economic crisis is not caused by an insufficient exploitation of the working class but by a lack of markets to absorb the immense productive potential of the U.S. and world economies.

Making the great mass of the people poorer is not going to increase the market. The sacrifices demanded of us now won't lead to prosperity but only to more demands for even heavier sacrifices.

What's needed is to rally the strength of working people in a fight to defend our interests against every aspect of this assault. Such battles will culminate in a battle to transfer political power from the ruling rich to the working-class majority—so that the irrationality and destructiveness of capitalism can be ended once and for all.

New agriculture chief no friend of farmers

By John Enestvedt

SACRED HEART, Minnesota—John Block is Reagan's choice for Secretary of the Department of Agriculture. He has been agricultural director for the state of Illinois, and farms 3,000 acres of land in partnership with his dad.

He is also a land speculator. Block together with two other partners bought a farm near LeRoy, Minnesota in 1978. They sold it this past summer for \$1 million profit. "Moonlighting" does pay off.

Let it be remembered that the Reagan forces tried to make a campaign spectacular among farmers by promising to lift the grain embargo to the Soviet Union. None of the reports I have read seem to indicate that farmers expect any change in performance by Block from that provided by Carter's Bergland.

Block says he favors lifting the embargo on grain to the Soviet Union "under the right circumstances and at the right time" and "in the light of the

international situation." He also says we have to take into consideration how the Russians "can be made to behave in their relationship with Poland."

To an old farmer like myself, these are exactly the same conditions the Carter Administration imposed on the embargo, except that Carter's reason for imposing it was to make the Russians "behave in their relationship" with Afghanistan.

Block also offers a suggestion, as if what he suggests has not already been a policy of the State Department for years. "Food is a great weapon to keep the peace of the world, as I see it," he says. "The best way to use that food is to tie countries to us. That way, they become dependent on us. They can't help it—they need our food."

These words give us a look at the merciful considerations that go into effect when food becomes a weapon to beat other nations into line behind Washington's imperialist foreign policy.

AFL-CIO officials back CIA's AIFLD

By Will Reissner

When rightist gunmen murdered two Americans and a Salvadoran in San Salvador's Sheraton Hotel on January 3, they unwittingly focused attention on the role played by the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) in Salvadoran politics.

The murdered Americans—Michael Hammer and Mark Pearlman—were both employed by the AIFLD. And the Salvadoran, José Rodolfo Viera, was a long-time associate and protégé of Hammer and the AIFLD.

The U.S. press described the victims as labor leaders involved in carrying out a land reform program for El Salvador's peasants, and called the AIFLD an affiliate of the AFL-CIO, the U.S. labor federation.

The real story, however, is considerably more sinister. Although none of the U.S. press reports bothered to mention it, for more than a decade it has been public knowledge that the AIFLD, founded in 1962, is an organ of the Central Intelligence Agency, operating under the cover of the AFL-CIO.

Not labor leaders

All three of those murdered were long-time CIA operatives, not the benign, idealistic reformers portrayed by the mass media.

Michael Hammer, for example, could hardly be described as a "labor leader." He had no background in the labor movement whatsoever. Immediately after his graduation from the Georgetown University Foreign Service School in Washington, D.C., Hammer went to work for the AIFLD, where he remained for seventeen years until his death.

His career in the AIFLD was spent at posts in El Salvador, Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, and the United States.

Mark Pearlman, the other American murdered at the Sheraton, was an associate of the notorious Roy Prosterman, the U.S. academic who formulated the Salvadoran "Land to the Tiller" program, a rural counterinsurgency program with a nice public relations name.

Agrarian reform like Vietnam

Prosterman had previously headed up the "Land to the Tiller" program in South Vietnam, where it was part of the CIA's Operation Phoenix. Its aim was to destroy the rural base of the National Liberation Front in the Vietnamese countryside, and it resulted in the murder of more than 30,000 Vietnamese peasants. Prosterman was also the author of the Philippine agrarian reform program.

Prosterman's agrarian reform programs have certain distinctive features. In each case they are intimately linked to military occupations of the countryside. In the Philippines and El Salvador they were also accompanied by the proclamation of a state of siege.

Prosterman himself made eight trips to El Salvador in 1980 to oversee the

implementation of his plan, which he modestly described as "the most complete agrarian reform in the history of Latin America." To put that statement in perspective, we should bear in mind that in 1972 Prosterman described his program in Vietnam as "probably the most ambitious and progressive non-Communist land reform of the twentieth century."

In October 1979, in the face of a growing worker and peasant revolt against El Salvador's military dictatorship, the U.S. embassy in San Salvador organized a coup by young Salvadoran officers to try to derail the leftist forces. The new junta described itself as reformist and moderate, and pledged to carry out an agrarian reform, one of the key demands of the Salvadoran peasants.

State of siege

Prosterman's reform program was announced in March 1980, along with a nationwide state of siege declared the same day. All estates over 1,250 acres would supposedly be expropriated and peasant cooperatives would be formed. Owners would be generously compensated in cash and government bonds, which could be invested in industry. Peasants would pay for their land over a period of years.

Using the state of siege, the junta sent its troops to occupy the largest haciendas throughout the country. Each was transformed into a military outpost for the government's battle against the leftist organizations, which have a strong peasant base.

The military was provided with lists of suspected peasant supporters of the left organizations.

The July-August 1980 issue of the New York *NACLA Report on the Americas* quoted a technician for the Salvadoran Institute for Agrarian Transformation (ISTA) describing how the military actually carried out the land reform on one hacienda.

Counterinsurgency

"The troops came and told the workers the land was theirs now. They could elect their own leaders and run it themselves. The peasants couldn't believe their ears, but they held elections that very night. The next morning the troops came back and I watched as they shot every one of the elected leaders." This act was by no means an isolated incident.

Moreover, the agrarian reform did not touch the power of the coffee planters, the most important and wealthiest section of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie. One estimate is that only 2 percent of the coffee plantations were affected by the reform.

Land that is being divided is being sold to farmers who are known to be members of the AIFLD-sponsored Unión Comunal Salvadoreña or of ORDEN, the ultrarightist paramilitary organization. Other peasants are killed or run off the land by the military.

The majority of peasants—those who



Washington pro



Photos from January 11 solidarity demonstration. From right, speakers Mario Velasqu

By Nelson González

Demonstrators braved twelve degree cold in Washington January 11 to protest U.S. aid to El Salvador. The march and rally were sponsored by the Religious Task Force for El Salvador and the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

The demonstration, estimated by organizers at 2,500 people, represents one of the most important solidarity events to date. It signals the growing sentiment against U.S. support to the right-wing government in El Salvador.

Longshore speaker

As International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) representative Mike Lewis pointed out, "If Ronald Reagan tries to make El Salvador the Vietnam of the 1980s we'll be here again with you and thousands of other people to keep that from happening."

The program of activities began with a noon ecumenical service on the Ellipse, near the Washington Monument. Speakers at the service, which was in remembrance of the four North American women missionaries killed in December, included Mike Donovan, whose sister Jean was one of the victims.

The service was followed by a march to another rally site near the U.S. Capitol Building. A number of contingents of Catholic groups were near the front of the march carrying signs such as, "Sisters of Notre Dame: Stop U.S. Aid to El Salvador" and "St. Mary's Parish, Connecticut: No Guns to El Salvador."

Four cardboard caskets with large pictures of the four women were carried on the march. The chants included, "Remember the four and the 10,000," and "No draft, no war, U.S. out of El Salvador." The 10,000, referred to the number of victims of the



AIFLD executive director William Doherty at right is a CIA agent, according to ex-agent Philip Agee.

rented no land and had no permanent job on a hacienda—are totally excluded from any access to land from the "reform."

In the words of two executives from the humanitarian organization Oxfam America, writing a column in the January 6, 1981, *New York Times*, "Most peasants consider the reform a cruel hoax intended to buy time and divert international attention from the counterinsurgency campaigns terrorizing the population."

Certain elements of the Salvadoran ruling class, however, oppose even this kind of agrarian reform. These forces favor a repetition of the 1932 slaughter of more than 30,000 Salvadoran peasants as the only way to destroy the power of the revolutionary movement.

It was supporters of this position who murdered the three AIFLD operatives.

José Rodolfo Viera, the Salvadoran murdered in the Sheraton Hotel attack, was the head of the Salvadoran Insti-

tute for Agrarian Transformation. He was also a leader of the Unión Comunal Salvadoreña, the pro-government peasant organization organized by the AIFLD.

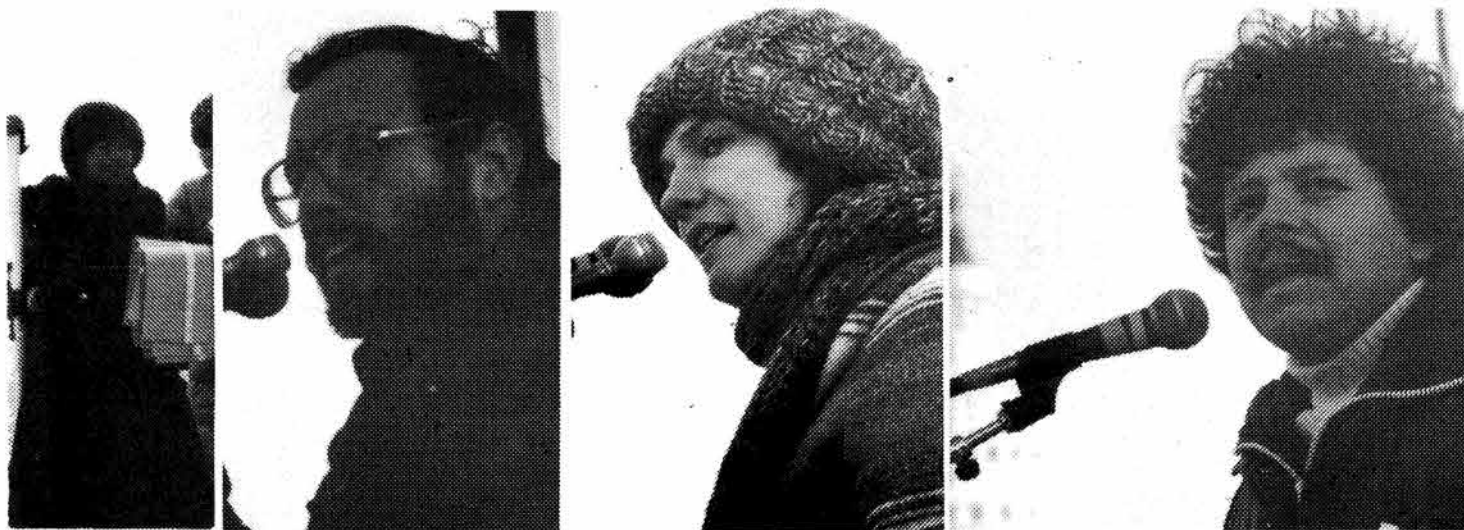
'Alliance for Progress'

In 1962 the AIFLD got a contract to train peasant leaders in El Salvador as part of the Alliance for Progress, a program cooked up by President John F. Kennedy to counter the growth of the Latin American left after the Cuban revolution. The UCS was established out of that training program.

Viera was groomed by Michael Hammer for many years, and was protected by Hammer when accused of large-scale graft of UCS funds. A U.S. auditor sent to El Salvador in 1977 to examine misuse of American funds noted that two UCS leaders, Tito Castro and Rodolfo Viera, had "pocketed substantial amounts of Foundation money." The auditor added, "Neither Tito Castro nor Rodolfo Viera should



Test: 'No aid to Salvador'



Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador; Sara Nelson, NOW; Mike Lewis, ILWU.

right wing violence in El Salvador in the last year.

A broad range of speakers addressed the rally including representatives of the National Association of Social Workers, the National Guatemala Network, and the National Network in Support of Vieques [the Puerto Rican island].

Sara Nelson from the National Organization for Women said the atrocities in El Salvador "bring back the horror, the smell, the agony, the stench, of the Vietnam war. Again we are overwhelmed and sickened by the slaughter of innocent people in the name of corporate profits."

She tied this action to other pressing issues: "We are outraged by the rise of the Klan, the killings of Blacks and of the radical labor organizers in Greensboro. We are alarmed at the all-out assault on the feminist movement and the insane escalation of nuclear weapons."

"We've gathered here in the freezing cold to send a message to the White House. . . . make no mistake about it, we stand for life not death, for liberty not oppression. We reject the affluence that is torn from the backs of other people."

We are here to tell the leaders of Moral Majority you cannot rip off the essential message of Jesus Christ and dress it up in military clothing. . . . in this spirit we say not one more dime to the right wing death squads in El Salvador."

The ILWU's Mike Lewis received an enthusiastic response when he explained the West Coast dockers' boycott of all military shipments to El Salvador.

"Cargo is a longshoreman's bread and butter, but there are times when loading a particular cargo contributes directly to the murder and persecution of innocent people," said Lewis. "And this was sure one of those times."

"We have an embargo, a boycott in effect, against all military shipments to the government of El Salvador from all ports under our jurisdiction. And that boycott will stay in effect for as long as what's going on in El Salvador continues."

Lewis read a message from ILWU President Jim Hernan and the other top officers of the union, expressing their continued support to the solidarity movement.

CISPES leader Heidi Tarver had opened the rally by reading a telegram sent to the ILWU by International Association of Machinists President William Winpisinger backing the dockworkers' boycott. (See "Solidarity with Central America and Caribbean" column).

National Lawyers Guild attorney Michael Maggio spoke in opposition to the deportations of Salvadoran refugees. Hundreds of these people, who are in the United States to escape the

violence in their country, are being held in detention centers and are being deported. They face the possibility of jail, torture, and death when returned to El Salvador.

Mario Velasquez spoke for the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador. He read a message from the FDR pointing out that at the same time as the demonstration, the final offensive has begun. The message described some of the military actions against the junta.

Velasquez underscored the importance of building the solidarity movement in the United States.

"This demonstration means a lot to the people of El Salvador. The FDR considers that this is an encouragement to continue in its long struggle for our liberation."

"This shows that we're not alone in this struggle. That the North American people are saying no to the Capitol, no to the United States, are saying no to intervention, are saying that the people of El Salvador should by themselves decide who is going to be the government and who is going to set policy."

Potential for movement

The composition of the marchers indicates the possibilities to build a broader and more powerful solidarity movement.

There were young people and old. A substantial number of demonstrators were Latinos. Another large group were unionists, including a delegation from New York City representing Local 109 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Local 15 of the National Association of Broadcasters, the Hispanic Labor Committee, Local 840 of the Teamsters, the Furriers Joint Council, and the Joint Board of the Millinery Workers.

As the battle deepens in El Salvador, the call of the FDR is to intensify our efforts all across the country to stay the hand of U.S. imperialism.

The January 11 demonstration was an important step in that process.

CISPES and El Salvador Alert

The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), one of the two groups that organized the January 11 demonstration, has put out issue number four of *El Salvador Alert!* This biweekly newsletter reports the latest developments from El Salvador in addition to solidarity activities throughout the United States. CISPES also publishes other valuable material on El Salvador.

The address is CISPES, P.O. Box 12056, Washington, D.C. 20005. Telephone: (202) 887-5019.

be financed in any way by U.S. taxpayer funds until restitution has been made; AIFLD should terminate them as quickly as possible."

Instead of following this recommendation, the AIFLD maintained its extremely close relationship with Viera, who until his death provided the Salvadoran regime with its only claim to support among peasant organizations.

AIFLD's work for CIA

Since its inception, the AIFLD has played a thoroughly reactionary role in Latin America. According to former CIA agent Philip Agee, the CIA established the AIFLD to "organize anti-communist labour unions in Latin America" in order "to deny workers labour unions dominated by the extreme left and to reverse communist and Castroite penetration."

Although ostensibly part of the AFL-CIO, the AIFLD is in fact run by the CIA's International Organizations

Division, with day to day control exercised by career CIA operatives.

More than 90 percent of the AIFLD's budget comes from the U.S. State Department and Agency for International Development. Corporations with investments in Latin America put up most of the rest of its funds, while the AFL-CIO makes only token contributions.

Officials of U.S. corporations operating in Latin America also hold positions on AIFLD's board of directors, and AIFLD has frequently helped these corporations "solve" their labor problems in Latin America.

In Honduras, for example, United Brands used the AIFLD to undermine and ultimately destroy labor unions on its banana plantations. In the Dominican Republic, the AIFLD helped Gulf and Western break the existing union on one of its sugar plantations and supplant it with a company union. The new union, incidentally, was the only

one in the Dominican Republic to support the 1965 U.S. invasion of that country.

Supports military coups

According to Penny Lernoux's study of Latin America, *Cry of the People*, "AIFLD money was . . . used to support the military coups in Guatemala, Brazil, and Chile, and the terrorism and racial violence directed against the leftist government of Cheddi Jagan in Guyana."

In his memoirs, long-time United Auto Workers leader Victor G. Reuther recounted the pride with which CIA agent William Doherty, Jr.—currently AIFLD's executive director—described AIFLD's part in the overthrow of the elected government of João Goulart in Brazil in 1964.

Doherty boasted that union leaders "trained in our institute—were involved in the revolution and in the overthrow of the Goulart regime."

AIFLD's National Workers Confederation in Chile was the chief labor supporter of that country's bloody military regime.

And in El Salvador the AIFLD was the key agency involved in promulgating the rural counterinsurgency plan that has resulted in the military occupation of the Salvadoran countryside and the murder of thousands of peasants. But today the Salvadoran regime is so discredited and isolated that AIFLD-stooge Viera himself was reportedly planning to resign from the government. In fact, Michael Hammer returned to El Salvador only one day before he was murdered, reportedly to try to convince Viera not to resign.

It is to the shame of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy that it continues to allow the CIA, through the AIFLD, to carry out its antiunion, anti-peasant activities in the name of the U.S. labor movement.

From Intercontinental Press

Haig defends bloody record at hearings

By Harry Ring

"They never laid a glove on him." That was Reagan's assessment of how the Democratic minority on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee dealt with his nominee for secretary of state, Alexander Haig.

In all justice, the Democrats could respond: But we were just shadow boxing.

In his testimony before the Committee, Haig chose to speak rather candidly about some of the hawklike political and military perspectives of the incoming administration.

But the four-star general was not simply speaking for the Reagan team. He was voicing a clearly bipartisan policy. This was underlined when Zbigniew Brzezinski declared the Carter White House would resist turning over documents that shed light on earlier Haig activity.



These include Haig's role in the Watergate coverup, his participation in covert efforts to prevent Allende from assuming office in Chile, and his role in the secret bombing of Cambodia and the carpet bombing of North Vietnam.

At the Senate hearings, Haig militantly defended those bombings. And he's more than ready to add to that bloody record.

Acknowledging that courting war in the nuclear age is an "awesome" responsibility, the former NATO commander added: "But . . . there are things worth fighting for. We must understand that. We must structure our policy under that credible and justified premise."

Haig also made clear that, like the Carter administration, Reagan's will not take a tolerant view of countries

bent on exercising their right to self-determination.

On economic aid to Nicaragua, Haig declared: "I would like to look very, very carefully at the current situation in Nicaragua, the policies of that government, the activities they are supporting throughout the Central American area, and to assess very carefully whether or not we are indeed contributing to additional troubles for the American people."

Nor would Haig limit U.S. policy simply to trying to starve out governments which cause "trouble" for the "American people." (Read "American capitalism.")

"General, are there any circumstances under which you would advocate or support covert operations to destabilize or overthrow a constitutionally elected government?" he was asked.

Haig brusquely responded that the Senate hearing was "not a forum for discussion of the kind your questions suggest . . ."

"Q. Why is that?"

"A. Simply because it's an open forum and it should be conducted in a closed session. . . ."

Did Haig have in mind the kind of "closed sessions" now underway in Washington to discuss how to save the besieged Salvadoran dictatorship?

Asked if he would favor U.S. troops to the Persian Gulf if substantial oil supplies were cut off, Haig assured he had no concern for legal or moral considerations, only practical ones. A key consideration, he explained, would be "whether or not such an operation would succeed."

"I am very concerned today about the inadequacy of our capability to do the kinds of things that your question suggests," he added.

While acknowledging that a "limited nuclear war" would be difficult to limit, he also declared the necessity for "an American president . . . to take whatever steps are necessary—including the use of nuclear weapons—to protect our vital interests should, heaven forbid, [it] be necessary."

"Heaven forbid." That's a pretty thin shield from a nuclear holocaust.

A far more effective one is the strong resistance of American working people to being dragged into a new military adventure. That opposition is vital to staying the hand of the lunatic capitalist rulers of this country, for whom Haig speaks.

Solidarity with Central America



and the Caribbean

IAM backs dockers boycott

In last week's *Militant* we reported on the boycott of military shipments to El Salvador by the West Coast dockworkers. International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union President James Herman received the following telegram supporting the boycott from William Winpisinger, president of the one-million member International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. The telegram was sent December 23:

"Congratulations on tying up the ships bound for El Salvador. We applaud your efforts and fully support the boycott of any shipments to El Salvador under the current repressive regime. If we can be of any assistance please do not hesitate to call upon us."

"Again my congratulations."

"Fraternally yours,"

"William W. Winpisinger, International President."

Arizona farmworkers turn out for film

The Phoenix Committee for Human Rights in El Salvador recently held successful showings of the film *El Salvador: Revolution or Death*, reports Ellie Garcia.

In Tucson more than 100 people showed up at the El Rio Center after a radio interview with members of the committee was aired. The interviewer had been so impressed that he urged listeners to "drop whatever you're doing" to see an extraordinary film.

In Phoenix, 150 clergy and lay people viewed the film at St. Anthony's Church and volunteered to help the cause in El Salvador in any way they could.

El Salvador: Revolution or Death was also shown to eighty undocumented citrus workers, including Salvadorans, at Goldmar Ranch. Goldmar has a contract with the Arizona Farmworkers Union.

El Frente Unido por Derechos Humanos

A new group, *El Frente Unido por Derechos Humanos* (United Front for Human Rights), was organized in Pueblo, Colorado, two months ago.

The group dropped us a note to tell us its goals are: "to act in solidarity with all oppressed peoples of Latin America, to recognize the struggles of all women there, to promote better understanding of the revolutionary movements and of U.S. involvement in the area, to support political prisoners, and to build bonds of unity with similar coalitions and committees in Latin America and the U.S."

So far, they have presented slide shows at a public meeting. One of their members was interviewed on the Radio KAPI program *Entrevistas con La Cucaracha*. (*La Cucaracha* is a Chicano weekly that strongly supports the struggle for human rights both here in the U.S. and in Latin America.)

The group's address is: *El Frente Unido por Derechos Humanos*, 419 Van Buren, Pueblo, Colorado 81004.

—Diane Jacobs

Please send contributions on activities in your area to: Osborne Hart, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The Militant, Perspectiva Mundial, and the Young Socialist invite you to:

Visit Nicaragua for Sandino Days February 15-22

The Nicaraguans didn't stop fighting for their liberation when General Sandino was murdered February 21, 1934. Now they celebrate that anniversary in a country which they, not Yankee imperialists, control. On this tour you can share in the celebration and learn about the challenges still facing Nicaraguans in rebuilding and defending their homeland.

Visit Managua, Esteli, Matagalpa, Chinandega, León. Visit a sugar mill. Meet with members of the Women's Association, Sandinista Youth, Association of Agricultural Workers and other unions, Sandinista Defense Committees, and literacy volunteers.

Tour costs \$750, which includes round trip flights from New York, hotels (double occupancy), three meals per day, transportation within Nicaragua, and the services of a Nicaraguan guide. Payment and passport information are due January 30 (new extended deadline).

To apply send \$100 deposit along with your name, address, and phone number to: Perspectiva Mundial Tours, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone (212) 929-3486.



Visit Grenada March 9-16

Come celebrate the second anniversary of the Grenadian revolution! Learn about the literacy drive, the program to give "idle lands to idle hands," and the development of new industry.

Stay in a guest house near Grand Anse Beach south of St. Georges. Visit a Center for Popular Education, new housing, the airport under construction. Meet with activists of the New Jewel Movement, Grenada's leading party; National Women's Organization representatives; and Cuban volunteers.



Tour costs \$810, which includes round trip flights from New York, guest house (double occupancy), two meals per day, taxes, and service charges. Full payment is due by February 6. Airfare portion may be charged on credit card.

To apply send \$150 deposit with your name, address, and phone number to: Perspectiva Mundial Tours, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone (212) 929-3486.

Capitalist media covers up gains

What Irish hunger strikers accomplished

By Gerry Foley

The fifty-three-day hunger strike by political prisoners in Northern Ireland scored the biggest political victory won by the anti-imperialist movement in Ireland since the Northern Ireland civil rights movement of 1968-72.

By the time it ended December 18, the hunger strike had focused world-wide attention on the struggle of the Irish people for independence and national unification, and on the violations of human rights carried out by the British government in attempting to suppress that struggle.

Furthermore, it sparked a massive upsurge by the anti-imperialist population throughout Ireland, with mounting demonstrations and mobilizations in every part of the country.

Finally, it succeeded in forcing the British government to back down and grant the demands of the prisoners.

The statement given to the hunger strikers December 18 by the British Secretary for Northern Ireland, Humphrey Atkins, in essence opens the way for granting all five of the H-Block prisoners' demands.

Demands of prisoners

The prisoners' demands were:

1. The right to wear their own clothes.
2. The right to refrain from prison work.
3. The right to free association among political prisoners.
4. The right to organize their own educational and recreational facilities and to receive one visit, one letter, and one parcel a week.
5. The right to full remission of sentences (that is, the usual time off for good behavior).

Atkins's statement to the prisoners says:

"I want to spell out for you and your families what will happen when the protests end.

"First of all, any such prisoner will be put into a clean cell. . . .

British gov't tries to take back rights

By Diane Jacobs

Now that the hunger strike in Northern Ireland is over, the British government apparently hopes that public attention will shift away from the H-Block prisoners and it will be able to avoid keeping the promises it made.

One of the most important concessions made by British Secretary for Northern Ireland Humphrey Atkins in his December 18 statement to hunger strikers is being denied.

Atkins had promised, "within a few days clothing provided by [the prisoners'] families will be given . . . so that they can wear it during recreation, association, and visits."

But now prisoners' relatives bringing clothes are being turned away at the gates of the Maze prison near Belfast.

According to the January 11 *New York Times*, the British government "insists that it made no concessions to the hunger strikers."

The British have waged a campaign to morally break the Irish political prisoners by forcing those tried since 1976 to accept common criminal status, and to wear convict uniforms.

Irish political prisoners tried before 1976 may dress as they wish, refrain from prison work, associate with one another, organize their own educational and recreational facilities, and receive time off for good behavior.

As a result of their demands for the same status, more recent prisoners have been subjected to brutality and degradation at the hands of their British jailers.

So the more than 400 Irish republi-

can inmates of the Maze now continue "on the blanket."

Support for the prisoners, which broadened significantly during their seven-week hunger strike, continues to increase and there is widespread anger over this most recent betrayal by the British government.

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, of the National H-Block Committee, announced at a news conference in Belfast the first week in January that the protest would be taken back to the streets if the British failed to keep their promises. At the same time the prisoners threatened a new hunger strike.

The struggle will continue. As H-Block prisoners said in their statement issued last December 19, "We know that the masses who took to the streets are our real guarantors."

"Within a few days clothing provided by their families will be given to any prisoners giving up their protest so that they can wear it during recreation, association and visits. As soon as possible, all prisoners will be issued with civilian-type clothing for wear during the working day. From then on, as I said in October, denim prison uniform becomes a thing of the past for all prisoners.

"They will also immediately become entitled every month to eight letters, four parcels and four visits.

"Prisoners who end their protest will be able to associate within each wing of the prison blocks in the evening and at weekends. . . .

"We want to work out for every prisoner the kinds of available activity

which we think suit him best—work (including of course the work of servicing the prison itself), vocational training and educational training. Again, if groups of prisoners come off the protest together, getting this program organized will take time.

"On the question of remission—and this will be of special importance to the prisoners' families—provision already exists for lost remission to be restored after subsequent good behavior. We shall immediately start reviewing each case individually."

Relatives bring clothes

It was on the basis of these promises that the seven hunger strikers who began their action on October 27 and were near death agreed to end their fast.

Following this, spokesmen of the Sinn Féin (Provisional Republicans) prisoners office in Belfast, which represents most of the hunger strikers, announced that the other hunger strikes, involving twenty-nine men and three women, were expected to end as soon as the news of the settlement could be communicated to them.

The Belfast Sinn Féin also announced that other forms of protest in the prison would be phased out as soon as possible, depending on the British government's fulfillment of its promises.

The day after the settlement was announced, Atkins went on TV to declare that the British government had made no new concessions. Then, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, public relations officer of the National H-Block Committee, announced on television that the prisoners' relatives were taking their clothes into prison. That was the concrete, undeniable sign of victory.

The fundamental issue in the prison protest was the attempt of the British government to force the prisoners to wear convict uniforms. Because of their refusal to do this, the prisoners were forced to live naked in their cells. They were put in punishment wings, the H-Blocks, where they were subjected to special harassment that ultimately made it impossible for them to use washing and toilet facilities.

What McAliskey's statement meant was that men who have worn nothing but a blanket for years and not been able to wash themselves for many months are now preparing to live like human beings again, to wash and

wear their own clothes. They had won.

Room for maneuver

The way in which the British government has presented its concessions politically was well illustrated by a statement Atkins made over TV. He said that if the prisoners did not give up their protest, they would not be allowed to wear their own clothes. That sounds tough unless you know that the right of the prisoners to wear their own clothes was the main thing the protest was about.

The British government's concessions were all made in equivocal terms and formulated as simply humane prison reforms that were being implemented due to the Conservative government's zeal for social improvement.

If the British government is prepared to grant all those confined in its prison system the right to wear their own clothes; the right to associate freely; and the opportunity to educate themselves rather than be forced to do meaningless, degrading labor, the Irish political prisoners can hardly object. After all, their goal is the liberation of all society from oppression and inhumanity, and that is why the British government railroaded them to prison.

The British concessions are formulated in ways that leave the prison officials a lot of room for maneuver. It is obviously going to take a struggle of some kind to assure that the provisions of the Atkins statement are implemented to an extent that will meet the letter and spirit of the Irish political prisoners' demands.

However, the massive mobilization of the Irish people and supporters of human rights and national liberation around the world on behalf of the hunger strikers has created excellent conditions for assuring that the prisoners' demands are fully met.

Hunger strikers slandered

The fact is that the extent of support that was building up for the H-Block prisoners terrified the ruling classes of Britain and the United States as well as the bourgeois forces in Ireland.

This is shown by the heavily biased reporting in the media during the hunger strike. Great pains were taken to maintain a solid front against the prisoners in the capitalist media.

For example, both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, two of the most influential U.S. dailies, *Continued on page 15*



November 22, 1980, march for hunger strikers in Dublin brought city to standstill.

Labor Party left in forefront

Growing resistance by British workers to

By Pat Kane

LONDON—150,000 people demonstrated November 29 against the policies of Britain's Tory government, in particular the massive rise in unemployment. They gathered in one of the areas of the country worst hit by the present economic recession, Liverpool.

This was one of the biggest labor demonstrations since the early seventies. It was called jointly by the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress (TUC), and working people travelled from all over Britain to attend.

Labour Party-led

Although the demonstration had the support of the trade unions, it was the Labour Party that played the main part in organizing the event. This was the reason for the massive turnout from the traditional Labour strongholds in Scotland and the north of the country.

In each section of the march, Labour Party, trade union, and socialist organizations mingled together. The normal sectoral divisions between British workers were overcome and this reinforced the desire for unity of the whole labor movement against the Tories.

At the rallying point, leaders of the labor movement addressed the crowd. Above their heads, a huge digital display showed the result of the Tory government's policies—it registered one more worker laid off every fifteen seconds.

Fight in Labour Party

The main speaker was Michael Foot, recently elected leader of the Labour Party in Parliament. Foot is looked on as a "left" leader, and when he appeared on the platform he was cheered by the crowd.

The recent fight inside the Labour Party over the reform of the party's constitution has boosted the confidence of the rank-and-file activists. For years they have struggled to elect Labour governments, only to see the right-wing parliamentary delegation ignore the policies of the party conference and implement their own version of Toryism.

Now they see the chance to change this through the election of the parliamentary leader by the rank and file, through selecting parliamentary candidates before each election and ensuring that they are accountable to their local party, and by ensuring that Labour Party conference decisions are carried out by future Labour governments.

Foot, who had supported the demonstration, was elected to the post of parliamentary leader on November 10. He was seen by the trade union leaders as the best figure in the leadership to maintain the unity of the party and to prevent any further drift to the left among the rank and file.

Foot is considered left wing for his outspoken views against the further proliferation of nuclear missiles, and the trade union leaders know that he is the only possible leader who can maintain the party's status quo. He is a compromise between Tony Benn, the candidate of the party's left wing, and Denis Healey, the leader of the party's right-wing members of parliament (MPs).

Irrespective of Foot's bad record on fighting for reforms within the party, or his particular role in the center of the party's hierarchy, his left-wing origins have meant that he is now seen by the mass of the Labour voters as being to the left of the traditional leaders of the parliamentary party.

Boos and cheers

The response of the rally to Healey was totally different. He was widely booed as he made his speech. Some people still remember the failure of the last Labour government to save jobs.



November 29 demonstration in Liverpool, a city devastated by unemployment, blasted Tory policies.

Healey, along with the other right-wing leaders, is closely identified in the eyes of the rank and file with these failures.

Tony Benn was given a massive cheer as he called on the next Labour government to carry out socialist policies. Benn did not stand in the election of the parliamentary leader, and has now adopted the role of Foot's main supporter.

All sides in both the trade union and party leaderships now want to call a truce before the rank and file can consolidate their new confidence and force lasting changes in the inner life of the party.

The demonstration was the clearest indication yet of the growing anti-Tory movement that is developing under the impact of the economic crisis.

Tories panic

The massive attack on working-class living standards contained in the emergency "mini-budget" introduced by Tory Chancellor Geoffrey Howe on November 24 added to the anger of the demonstrators.

In his speech to Parliament, Howe announced that "the recession is far greater than we thought." He then outlined measures centered on further cuts in welfare services, increased taxation for the majority of workers, and a 6 percent wage limit for public sector workers. Almost everyone suffered from the budget measures, but cuts in old people's pensions and state unemployment payments were especially sharp.

The pressure for these emergency measures has come from the immediate effects of the economic crisis. Unemployment now stands at 2.16

million according to official government figures. But opposition to government policies from the working class has increased the tensions on the bosses. In addition, sections of manufacturing industry are suffering under the crude monetarism of the Tories. The cutback of state aid to private industry, declining exports due to the high value of the pound, and high interest rates have cut into the profits of core industries.

'Bare-knuckle' fight

At the recent conference of the bosses' organization, the Confederation of British Industry (CBI), Chairperson Sir Terence Beckett called for a "bare-knuckle" fight with the government to "save industry." This caused some pro-Thatcher employers to walk out of the CBI.

In an aggressive speech he said that large parts of the industrial base were "disappearing down the plughole faster than we can stop them."

Manufacturing industry output, CBI says, will fall by a total of 14 percent this year and next, compared to an 11 percent reduction during the height of the 1929-31 depression.

Company liquidations are running at a rate of 560 per month, with 961 firms going out of business in October alone. Beckett stressed that unemployment was rising at the rate of 3,000 jobs a day. He criticized the government for not being sufficiently determined to cut public spending and lower bank interest rates.

Ruling class dissatisfied

Increasingly, sections of the ruling class are questioning the policies of the Tories. They are wondering if the

Tories will be able to carry out their pledge to break the power of the unions and control the working class. They see the public sector unions remain strong, and while spending on services has fallen for the last six years, they demand further spending cuts to bring the public sector into line with the private sector wage and unemployment levels.

The profits of the capitalists are being eroded through high interest rates and a strong currency. While this continues they refuse to invest, which further fuels the recession. They are disappointed by the paralysis of the cabinet in the crisis, and by the crude monetarist policies of the government.

They are worried that the effects of the recession will seriously hamper the ability of British capital to compete in any future trade upsurge, no matter how limited.

This open conflict within the ruling class circles has increased the basic mistrust among the working class for the Tories. It is obvious that the government cannot solve the problems of rising unemployment and inflation, and the workers are now looking more and more to their traditional party, the Labour Party, to get them out of the present crisis.

Setbacks and victories

The response of the workers to the latest Tory attacks has been uneven across the various sectors of the economy. Workers at the engineering factory of Gardners in Manchester occupied the factory and were successful in defending jobs, but unemployment continues to rise across industry.

A Liverpool demonstration was called to protest against unemployment, and it showed that slowly, but surely, there is the beginning of a movement among industrial workers against job loss.

The Fire Brigades Union has smashed through the new 6 percent pay policy, and there is now an organized rank-and-file opposition to government cuts in the public sector.

But it is the issue of wages that dominates the workplace at this time of the year. All the major unions have submitted wage claims, and are presently awaiting the response of the employers and the government.

Thatcher is pleased with her progress so far in the present round of wage negotiations, and ministers are announcing that it will be "all quiet on the wages front this winter." But the dynamics of the class struggle can spoil the best laid plans of government officials.

In British Leyland, the nationalized car company, the managers have been able to enforce a 6.8 percent pay settlement. This was done with the active assistance of Terry Duffy, the president of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers. He has enforced a similar low settlement on other engineering workers, but the average rise in the industry due to local payments won through the strength of the shop stewards organizations is over 21 percent.

The Leyland settlement comes after years of massive attacks on shop-floor rights, including victimization and sacking of leading militants, speed-ups and changes in work practices, and the demoralizing effects of plant closures. Despite this, British Leyland workers voted by a massive 2 to 1 majority for strike action against the nationalized company, and by implication the government, which had set the limit for wages.

It took the open refusal by the union leaders to act on this vote, both at a plant and national level, for the company to be able to push through the pay settlement.

Two other particularly important incidents were the decision by Ford workers to reject a 9.5 percent offer and

attacks

the decision of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) to accept 13.8 percent in the current wages round.

The pay settlement has not stopped this move. Thousands of miners were on the November 29 demonstration, and their militant traditions will ensure that they play a part in the struggles against the Tories.

All these struggles show the unevenness of the present working-class response to the recession. As the recession deepens, militant workers will look for solutions from their own mass party.

Role of Labour Party

What is new in the situation is the energetic role of the Labour Party left. The Liverpool demonstration is only the latest in a series of initiatives it has called over the last eighteen months.

On November 7, 1979, Labour called a demonstration against public sector cuts that attracted 30,000 people. On June 22, it mobilized over 20,000 in a demonstration against nuclear power that greatly accelerated the growing movement for nuclear disarmament. Now it has organized the biggest working-class demonstration for a decade. All this was done through the party's National Executive Committee.

On January 24, 1981, there will be a special Labour Party conference, the third in eighteen months, to decide the method for electing the leader of the party. Foot is expected to retain the leadership, and this will boost the mass movement, which views Foot as a left candidate.

Meanwhile, the Tories will have to force through pay settlements on other workers who only have to look to the firefighters to know that they can break Thatcher's 6 percent ceiling. The TUC/Labour Party liaison committee has called for a week of action against the Tories for February, and the government will be trying to attack the public services at the same time as these protests take place.

From Intercontinental Press



Gardners strikers occupied their factory and were successful in defending jobs.

Apartheid regime cracks down on Black journalist unions

By Ernest Harsch

Just a few days after the end of a successful strike by Black newspaper workers, the South African government cracked down on the leadership of their union.

On December 29, Zwelakhe Sisulu, the president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (MWASA) and one of the country's most prominent Black journalists, was banned, a form of house arrest. Also banned was Marimuthu Subramoney, the secretary of the MWASA branch in Natal Province.

Under the banning orders, which last for three years, the two may not participate in any trade union activities, practice their professions, or even enter a newspaper office, educational institution, or industrial complex.

They cannot leave their homes on weekends, holidays, or between 7:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m. on weekdays. They may not receive visitors in their homes, attend any political or social gatherings, or be legally quoted in South Africa.

Zwelakhe Sisulu, who is thirty-years old, has been particularly outspoken—both through his writings and at political gatherings—in his opposition to South Africa's racist system of apartheid. He is the son of Walter Sisulu, a top leader of the outlawed African National Congress who has been serving a life sentence on the notorious Robben Island prison for the past seventeen years.

Besides striking out at the MWASA leadership, the apartheid regime has also moved to penalize the management of the Argus newspaper group for agreeing to recognize the Black union.

Newspapers suspended

On December 24, it announced the suspension of four Argus-owned newspapers, the *Post*, *Saturday Post*, *Sunday Post*, and *Sowetan*. All four are based in the Johannesburg area and are aimed primarily at Black readers. As a pretext for shutting down the papers, the regime said that they had forfeited their registration by failing to publish during the strike. The company has stated that it will attempt to reregister the *Post*, *Sunday Post*, and *Sowetan*.

... Ireland

Continued from page 13

warned in the strongest way against any sympathy for the hunger strikers, subjecting them to heavy-handed slander and completely distorting the issues.

After the conclusion of the hunger strike, the *New York Times* wrote in an editorial December 20: "The strike was apparently ended without any significant concession by Prime Minister Thatcher. The protesters wanted a special status as political prisoners. 'Murder is murder is murder,' was Mrs. Thatcher's blunt rejoinder, and on this she was supported by the European Commission of Human Rights and by key voices in all Ireland, in the Republican South, as well as the British-ruled North."

The fact is that the prisoners did not demand "political status" as such. They did not ask people to mobilize on their behalf for a vague abstraction but for the concrete rights which those Irish political prisoners tried before 1976 enjoy and which the British government deprived them of in an attempt to break them morally.

Nonetheless, the *New York Times*'s sigh of relief was audible. While the prisoners could not arouse any sense of honor in the capitalist rulers the growing mass movement that supported them did arouse real fear.

The government's reaction to the newspaper workers' strike is another indication of its growing concern over the militancy of Black workers in South Africa, who have carried out scores of strikes over the past year.

Despite new labor laws designed to control Black unions, the regime has been unable to check the growth of the Black trade union movement.

MWASA, although one of the newest Black unions, has its roots in two earlier organizations, the Union of Black Journalists (UBJ), which was outlawed during a major crackdown on Black political activity in October 1977, and the Writers Association of South Africa (WASA), formed shortly after the UBJ was banned.

Both earlier unions were limited to just journalists, but WASA laid the groundwork for the construction of a new union that would encompass all Black workers in the newspaper industry.

WASA, which was also led by Zwelakhe Sisulu, identified itself with the Black Consciousness movement, one of the main Black political currents in the country, and stressed the leading role of the Black working class in the struggle for liberation.

WASA also argued that Black journalists had a responsibility to the Black community as a whole to try to accurately portray their struggles and to expose the injustices of apartheid.

This stance brought the Black journalists into constant conflict with the government, which jailed or banned the most outspoken of them. It also ran into stiff opposition from the white newspaper owners, who refused to recognize the union.

Organizing drive

In October 1980, WASA disbanded and helped launch MWASA. The new union immediately set out on a drive to organize all Black newspaper workers in the country.

MWASA soon faced its first test of strength. In early November, Black workers at the *Cape Herald*, one of the major newspapers in Cape Town, went on strike for higher pay. MWASA issued a call for a countrywide solidarity strike, and most Black workers in

"The British Government has won not a victory but a reprieve," the editors of the *Times* noted. They went on to say:

"Despite their crimes, the strikers are seen as symbolic victims of a system of justice that is increasingly an embarrassment to the British. Criticism extends well beyond the petty prison rules concerning prison clothing. More fundamentally, Northern Ireland is the only place in Britain where offenders can be convicted without a jury trial by a single judge in what are known as Diplock courts. Interrogation can be prolonged well beyond the time allowed elsewhere—and offenders can be convicted solely on the basis of confessions thus obtained. . . .

"Surely this is the time to address the legitimate grievances that made the possible death of even a single striker so hazardous to civil order in a sad part of a nominally united kingdom."

What frightened the U.S. rulers, as well as the British and their neocolonialist stooges in Dublin, was the burgeoning of one of the most powerful mass movements in Irish history.

Retreat reversed

The campaign that developed in support of the H-Block prisoners represented a resumption of the mass

the newspaper industry heeded the call.

Although the *Cape Herald* workers reached an agreement with their management after three weeks, the strikers in Johannesburg stayed out around other issues, including back pay for the days they were out and the right of Black journalists to help shape the news coverage of the papers on which they work.

The Argus company retaliated against the strikers by dismissing all seventy of them at the *Post* newspapers, including Sisulu, who was the *Sunday Post* news editor.

But the newspaper workers held firm. They won support from workers in other cities. The Black journalists at the *Cape Herald*, for instance, held a two-day strike in early December to protest the dismissals in Johannesburg. They also won the solidarity of some white journalists, who refused to scab on the strikers.

Finally, on December 23, the Argus management agreed to make some concessions, including formal recognition of MWASA as the representative of Black newspaper workers. Those who had been dismissed were taken back.

Fear of unions

The government's response to this settlement reflects a fear that it could inspire other Black unions, many of whom are also fighting for recognition.

The crackdown was condemned by Nthato Motlana—the head of the influential Soweto Committee of Ten—and by many other prominent Black figures.

The largely white South African Society of Journalists called for international protests against the bannings of Sisulu and Subramoney. Even some of the progovernment Afrikaans-language newspapers expressed disquiet over the bannings.

In an article in the December 30 Johannesburg *Rand Daily Mail*, a member of MWASA expressed confidence that Sisulu would be able to continue playing an influential role in the freedom struggle. He was convinced, he said, that Sisulu's "penetrating voice will one day still be heard in the corridors of power in this country."

From Intercontinental Press

movement that began with the civil rights marches of 1968-69.

The retreat of the Irish people that began in the mid-1970s has been reversed. The national liberation movement is entering a higher stage. A new generation of Irish fighters are coming to their political maturity.

These processes had been under way for some time. The H-Block campaign focused them and impelled them forward. The victory will give a further impetus.

The leaders of the Irish struggle proved able to build an effective united front that brought tens of thousands of people into action. They were able to wield these masses into a conscious and disciplined force capable of drawing in larger and larger sections of the Irish people and, finally, beginning to mobilize the decisive contingents of the Irish nation, the industrial workers organized in the country's powerful trade unions.

This mass campaign, like the civil rights movement before it, had an international impact. It began to win vital allies for the Irish struggle.

This campaign has prepared the way for the resurgence of the Irish revolution that was interrupted sixty years ago. It was the beginnings of this movement that frightened the British and forced them to give in. But it will not end with that victory. The decisive battles lie ahead.

From Intercontinental Press

New Orleans cop terror exposed



New Orleans protest against police 'state of siege' that left four dead.

By Naomi Bracey

NEW ORLEANS—In dramatic taped interviews released to the media here, two Black men told a story of torture and terror by members of the New Orleans police department. Johnnie Brownlee and Robert Lee Davis say that cops threatened to kill them unless they identified two "suspects" in the killing of Patrolman Gregory Neupert last November.

In the gruesome chain of events that followed Neupert's death, New Orleans cops gunned down four young Blacks: Raymond Ferdinand, James Billy Jr., Reginald Miles, and Sherry Singleton.

The police justified the murders of Billy and Miles on the grounds that they were "sure suspects" in Neupert's death. The sole evidence: two unnamed witnesses had seen them with Neupert shortly before the officer was killed.

Singleton was a victim of the same cop raid that claimed the lives of Billy and Miles. Ferdinand was killed several days before during a police roundup.

In the wave of public outrage that followed the four murders, community groups and members of the media repeatedly called on police to name and present their witnesses. The police refused, claiming the witnesses feared reprisals.

Finally, attorney Mary Howell and

Mark Lane, representing the families of Sherry Singleton, located the two witnesses. The lawyers conducted videotaped interviews with them, which they later showed at a news conference.

The Louisiana Weekly, New Orleans' Black newspaper, quoted both interviews in detail.

Robert Lee Davis remembered standing on a bridge over a little stream. "They said they was gonna 'waste my black ass' so nobody couldn't find me," Davis said. "I really thought I wasn't gonna make it back."

According to the Weekly, Davis said he was slapped around by about five officers back at the police station. They insisted that he had witnessed the Neupert slaying and that James Billy had run past him. "Say it was him or you goin' to die with him too!" Davis said the officers told him.

"I don't know where they got the idea that he ran by me," Davis said, insisting that he hadn't seen Billy and knew nothing about the killing of Neupert.

The second "witness," Johnnie Brownlee, fled the state after his encounter with the police. In his taped interview, also quoted in the Weekly, Brownlee said he was picked up with his wife and child. His family was at the police station the whole time he was being beaten, according to attorney Mark Lane.

After he was beaten, Brownlee said he was taken to the woods blindfolded. "They made me get on my knees first," he said. A shotgun was placed at the back of his head, and a round was fired off next to his ear. Brownlee said he remembers one officer saying, "You this close and you missed this nigger?"

Brownlee said he expected to die and began to pray quietly to himself. Instead, the Weekly reported, he was taken back to the police station and coerced into identifying James Billy as the man who killed Neupert. He said he was so scared and intimidated that he felt he "couldn't say no" when the police pushed James Billy's picture in front of him one last time.

"I was not a witness to that murder," Brownlee maintained in the interview.

The testimony of Brownlee and Davis is backed up by the stories of dozens of other Blacks who were caught in the racist cop dragnet following Neupert's death. Police laid siege to the Black section of Algiers, and the Bill of Rights was virtually suspended for the residents there. In the Fischer housing project in Algiers, Black male youth were summarily rounded up. They were taken to homicide division where they were beaten and terrorized by police. During that time their relatives had no idea where they were.

Some youth in Algiers report that they had to become refugees. Terrified mothers sent their young sons to stay with relatives until the cop terror was over. Some Blacks told of being afraid to walk the streets, even in the daytime.

The resignation of Police Chief Parsons in November has done little to assuage Black rage. Hoping to hide through the storm, Mayor Ernest Morial has become inaccessible to the news media.

On December 13, more than 125 activists, most of them Black, participated in an People's Conference on Police Brutality to discuss Black response to cop violence. A boycott of the central business district was decided upon.

A city council hearing was also arranged for January 27, so community resident could state their grievances. The indictment of the killer cops is likely to be a major issue at the meeting. So far the New Orleans Police Department has not disciplined the killer cops and has even refused to disclose their identities.

Michael Williams, a long time community activist spoke at the December 13 meeting. He expressed the hostility and disappointment felt in the Black community toward Mayor Morial. He said he and other Blacks campaigned for Morial in 1977 because they thought electing a Black mayor would solve everything. "We were wrong to stop protesting," he said. "We have to get ourselves together and start demonstrating again. Morial has let us all down."

...Louisiana

Continued from back page

contempt-of-court citation to all those involved in helping to keep the Buckeye Three enrolled in the all-white school.

This citation has forced Lee to temporarily stop his attempts to keep the three students at Buckeye High.

If they're found in contempt, the girls and their legal guardians will be fined \$500 for every day they attend Buckeye High, and Lee will be fined \$1,000 a day.

A contempt hearing has been set for January 15.

Louis Berry, the Black attorney who filed the original desegregation suit in 1965, has also asked that civil contempt charges be included and that additional fines be imposed.

If either contempt charge is upheld, it will strike a blow to racist forces that aim to deny Blacks their rights, be they in the white robes of the KKK, the Black robes of the state judge, or no robe at all.

It would also encourage the Black community and other supporters of an equal education for Blacks to strengthen and defend the school desegregation order in Rapides Parish.

D.A. Anderson, a Black member of the Alexandria School Board summed up his opinions of the issues involved in the case when he told one reporter, "It's just prejudice and a dislike of Black people."

Anderson also recalls that a few years ago Judge Lee, then a lawyer in a private practice, represented a group of parents who tried to keep busing out of another nearby community.

Pathfinder pamphlet on class battles in the South

Nelson Blackstock, a native southerner, takes a look at the fight against Jim Crow segregation, the gains won by the civil rights movement, and the growing radicalization of southern workers today. 30 pp., \$.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage.

Correction

In our issue of January 16, we reported the death of John Poulos, a veteran socialist. Due to technical errors two paragraphs were inadvertently omitted. They said:

John retired in 1976, but only in order to concentrate on several projects that were close to his heart. He began investigating the early Trotskyist movement in Greece, collecting documents of its various tendencies and tracking down oldtimers with whom the movement had lost contact. He made two satisfying trips to Greece and one to Turkey to follow through on this work. In addition, he was assisting several young European scholars who were doing original research on the Greek resistance to Hitler and the ensuing civil war.

He also collaborated with Pathfinder Press here and the Leon Trotsky Institute in Paris, helping them to collect biographical and historical data for their editions of Trotsky's writings. At his death he was compiling notes for an oral history at Tamiment Library, New York University, in which he intended to discuss the early years of the CIO and the experiences of immigrant workers.

Atlanta: Fifth Black child missing, two bodies found

Another Black child is missing in Atlanta and the skeletal remains of two other children were found January 9. Eleven Black children were found murdered in the city between July 1979 and December 1980.

The disappearance January 3 of fourteen-year-old Lubie (Chuck) Geter

brings to five the number of Black children now missing.

It is not clear if the two new bodies are of children already reported missing.

On January 10, about 500 volunteers gathered at Cleveland Avenue Elementary School in southwest Atlanta to search the neighborhood for Lubie Geter.

Local 218 of the Textile Processor's Union has volunteered to search 600 to 700 vacant apartments in housing projects in areas where the children disappeared.

City Councilman Arthur Langford, who heads the United Youth Adult Conference, told a news conference that a group of volunteers would also comb the area where the skeletons were found.

"None of us can rest in this city until we find the missing children and until we find the person or persons that have done these vicious attacks," said Langford, whose group has organized twelve other searches involving thousands of volunteers.



November 23 march

Militant/Robb Lutton



Won't die for Disney—Selective Service is after Mickey Mouse as a draft resister. Disneyland says a letter addressed to Michael M. Mouse arrived there warning that he had failed to provide essential information on his draft registration.

Not to worry—"GAINESVILLE (UPI)—An experimental robot ran amok at a University of Florida laboratory . . . destroying itself before a graduate student could push a cutoff button. . . . For the past two years scientists at the UF laboratories have been developing robots for industrial use, such as maintaining nuclear reactors."

Pushouts?—"There are plenty of people in jail today who passed college ethics courses," says the dean of Stanford's business school, who is skeptical of the worth of such studies.

Between devil and deep sea—The Navy was considering scuttling old nuclear submarines by towing them out to sea and sinking them. Responding to objections, it is also now weighing removing the reactors and burying them on land.

But it is annoying—"Terminal smog not lethal"—Headline in the Valdez, Alaska, *Vanguard*.



"Park Place goes condo. Each player must pay the owner \$150,000."

Sounds like a dead heat to us—We're late in reporting it, but the National Council of Teachers of English gave Reagan its 1980 Doublespeak Award for "inaccurate assertions" during his campaign. Carter was given second prize, but we think he did better in this field than in vote getting. For instance, his explanation that the Iran hostage "rescue" fiasco was an "incomplete success."

Phew!—A new toilet water features scents for various major cities, including, "Essence of New York." A special two-ounce bottle, only \$9.

Their Government

Federal narcs, drug dumps, and dollars

Last April, a major explosion occurred at the toxic waste dumpsite of the Chemical Control Corporation in Elizabeth, New Jersey, sending a poisonous fireball high into the sky.

As temperatures reached 3,000 degrees, many of the 58,000 drums at the wastesite burst into the air like mortar shells. Firefighters fought the blaze for ten hours, but were virtually powerless as the water from their hoses turned to steam when in contact with the blazing plume.

After the fire died down, schools were closed in neighboring sections of New Jersey and in Staten Island, which is directly across the Arthur Kill waterway from Elizabeth. An acidic mist had filtered down over a fifteen-square-mile area.

Included in the chemical garbage the Chemical Control Corporation had stored there were outdated birth control pills and hospital wastes (including extracted tumors and tapeworms), carcinogenic solvents, toxic metals, radioactive substances, and possibly dioxin, one of the most deadly chemicals known.

Luckily, 400,000 gallons of chemicals had already been removed from the site by the New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection. Also taken away were phosgene nerve gas and highgrade explosives.

Attention focused on the fire has brought to light a story of government and mob complicity in the affairs of Chemical Control Corporation.

The company, according to the December 18, 1980, *New York Times*, was run by the mafia. Its former president, William Carracino—recently convicted and sentenced to jail for illegal dumping—says that six men, including several business asso-

ciates, ordered him off the premises and took over the company at gunpoint.

One of those he named, John Albert, now a principal owner, is reputed to be a "soldier" in the organized crime family of Frank Tieri.

Last July Albert was among several men indicted on charges of financing an illegal amphetamine laboratory in Plainfield, New Jersey.

In October, he was indicted again, this time in Massachusetts, on charges of illegally dumping toxic waste in that state.

Albert, it turns out, also had a cozy relationship with the Federal Drug Enforcement Administration (FDEA), according to the *Times* report.

Shortly after the 1977 mob takeover of Chemical Control, the FDEA began using the facility to dispose of discarded pharmaceuticals and other drugs. These included extremely valuable confiscated illegal drugs and chemicals for making illegal narcotics.

Agency officials assert that they were unaware of the company's mob ties.

But the FDEA's involvement with the mob-owned company, as the *Times* delicately put it, "raised questions about the use of the facility by the agency and perhaps by local law-enforcement authorities as well."

FDEA officials claimed that all drugs dumped there were properly incinerated in the presence of drug-enforcement agents and "could not have been diverted or reused."

But an undercover state investigator found "bales of marijuana" in a loft at Chemical Control's wastesite when the New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection took custody of the site in 1979.

At the time, the premises were declared a health hazard with more than 40,000 leaking drums of poisonous chemicals and explosives piled together next to the company's disposal incinerator.

Before the fire last April, undestroyed pharmaceuticals and drugs were also found there.

When asked to explain why the drugs and marijuana turned up at Chemical Control after the supervised disposals, James Judge of the Drug Enforcement Administration said that "he had heard that local police officers had also used the facility on occasion to dispose of confiscated drugs."

Judge asserted the FDEA's total innocence. "It never came to our attention that we might have been dealing with an organization associated with organized crime," he said. If it had, "obviously we would not have gone there."

The *Times* reports, however, that other investigators say that the FDEA had law-enforcement files prior to its use of Chemical Control showing the company's ties to the mafia. They also knew of Albert's connections.

The partially unraveled story of Chemical Control Corporation helps explain why the government is reluctant to clean up toxic wastes.

In the case of Chemical Control, a \$7 million business, cops and narcs probably made a bundle, while looking the other way as the poisonous drums piled up to disastrous proportions, posing a health hazard and danger to tens of thousands of people.

But the kind of relationship struck between the mob and government officials is the same when "legal" corporations are involved.

Money and convenience are at the top. Health and safety are relegated to the bottom. If a buck can be made, who cares about the cancer and suffering that will follow?

—Suzanne Haig

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

LABOR AND THE FIGHT AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER. Speakers: Fred Halstead, author, "What Working People Should Know About the Dangers of Nuclear Power"; Larry Remer, editor, *San Diego Newsline*; Cathy Anderson, first vice-president, Local 535 Service Employees International Union. Fri., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 6 p.m. dinner. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

DEBATE: SHOULD SAN DIEGO'S SCHOOLS BE DESEGREGATED? Speakers: Bob Russell, Mesa College, Black studies professor; Larry Lester, leader of Groundswell, antibusing group. Fri., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

CONFRONTATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN. Speakers: Dr. Alan Meyers, Nicaragua Solidarity Committee; Mark Schneider, Socialist Workers Party; representatives of Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador and Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Sun., Jan. 18, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

EL SALVADOR: HUMAN RIGHTS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. A teach-in for week of activities in solidarity with El Salvador. Speakers: Rev. William Wipfler, National Council of Churches; Mauricio Silva, former cabinet minister in El Salvador; others. Film: *Revolution or Death*. Sun., Jan. 25, 3:30 p.m. Emmanuel College Auditorium, 400 The Fenway. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. For more information call (617) 492-8699 or 738-6827.

MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

POLISH LABOR UPSURGE: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT. Speaker: Gary Fields, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Jan. 24, 8 p.m. 508 N. Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$2. Party after forum. Ausp: Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI ST. LOUIS

EL SALVADOR: NEXT VIETNAM? Speakers: Daniel Hellinger, professor of Latin American Studies, Webster College and Latin American Solidarity Committee; Jim Garrison, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Jan. 24, 7:30 p.m. 5223 Delmar Blvd. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

THE MEANING OF REAGAN ELECTION FOR WORKING PEOPLE. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, 1980 Socialist Workers Party candidate for president; Jorge Ruiz, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, New Jersey; Connie Gilbert-Neiss, assistant coordinator for action, National Organization for Women, New Jersey; representative of American Civil Liberties Union, New Jersey. Sat., January 17, 8 p.m. 11-A Central Ave., near Broad St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK SCHENECTADY

THE TRUTH ABOUT EL SALVADOR. Speakers: Mark Emanation, Young Socialist Alliance chairperson, Capital District. Slide show. Fri., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St., 2nd Floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

OHIO CINCINNATI

THE 1980 ELECTIONS AND DEFENDING BLACK RIGHTS. A panel discussion. Speakers: Sarah Gardner, president, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Cincinnati chapter; Celeste Williams, participant in founding convention of National Black Independent Political Party, member of Young Socialist Alliance; John Mason, member,

Cincinnati Anti-Klan Network; others. Fri., Jan. 23, 8 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

OREGON PORTLAND

SCIENCE UNDER CAPITALISM. Speaker: Ron Richards. Sun., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SECRET POLICE ON TRIAL: SOCIALISTS VS. FBI, CIA, AND INS. Speakers: Andrea Lubrano, Socialist Workers Party, shipyard worker; Maude Wilkinson, former member of Young Socialist Alliance, victim of FBI harassment. Fri., Jan. 23, 8 p.m. 7106 Mt. Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

BOSTON

CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION IN CUBA

Sat-Sun, January 24-25
Roxbury Community College
Sponsored by Center for Cuban Studies and U.S.-Cuba Educational Exchange. Pre-registration: \$35 to Center for Cuban Studies, 220 E. 23rd St., New York, N.Y. 10010. (\$25 for members). For more information call (212) 685-9038.

Learning About Socialism

Lenin on militant materialism

The November 21 *Learning About Socialism* column, titled "Clairvoyant racism," referred to an article by Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky, written in 1922 in the first issue of a Soviet magazine called *Under the Banner of Marxism*.

The second issue of that publication printed an article by Lenin, the central leader of the Russian revolution.

Excerpts from Lenin's article are printed below.

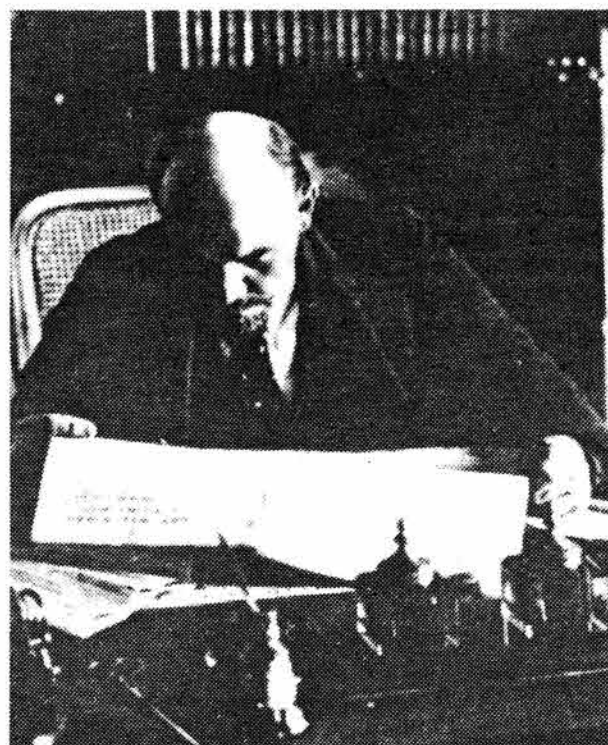
* * *

Comrade Trotsky has already said everything necessary, and said it very well, about the general purposes of *Under the Banner of Marxism* in issue No. 1-2 of that journal. I should like to deal with certain questions that more closely define the content and program of the work which its editors have set forth in the introductory statement in this issue.

This statement says that not all those gathered round the journal *Under the Banner of Marxism* are Communists but that they are all considered materialists. I think that this alliance of Communists and non-Communists is absolutely essential and correctly defines the purposes of the journal. . . .

In Russia we still have—and shall undoubtedly have for a fairly long time to come—materialists from the non-Communist camp, and it is our absolute duty to enlist all adherents of consistent and militant materialism in the joint work of combating philosophical reaction and philosophical prejudices of so-called educated society. . . .

A journal that sets out to be a militant materialist organ, in the sense of unflinchingly exposing and indicting all modern "graduated flunkies of clericalism," irrespective of whether they act as representatives of official science or as free lances calling themselves "democratic Left or ideologically socialist" publications.



In the second place, such a journal must be a militant atheist organ. . . .

Engels long ago advised the contemporary leaders of the proletariat to translate the militant atheist literature of the late eighteenth century for

mass distribution among the people. We have not done this up to the present, to our shame. . . .

It would be the biggest and most grievous mistake a Marxist could make to think that the millions of people (especially the peasants and artisans), who have been condemned by all modern society to darkness, ignorance and superstition, can extricate themselves from this darkness only along the straight line of a purely Marxist education. These masses should be supplied with the most varied atheist propaganda material, they should be made familiar with facts from the most diverse spheres of life, they should be approached in every possible way, so as to interest them, rouse them from their religious torpor, stir them from the most varied angles and by the most varied methods, and so forth. . . .

Under the Banner of Marxism, which sets out to be an organ of militant materialism, should devote much of its space to atheist propaganda. . . . It is particularly important to utilize books and pamphlets which contain many concrete facts and comparisons showing how the class interests and class organizations of the modern bourgeoisie are connected with the organizations of religious institutions and religious propaganda. . . .

In addition to the alliance with consistent materialists who do not belong to the Communist Party, of no less and perhaps even of more importance for the work which militant materialism should perform is an alliance with those modern natural scientists who incline toward materialism and are not afraid to defend and preach it as against the modish philosophical wanderings into idealism and skepticism which are prevalent in so-called educated society.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Abortion Rights: how victory was won

January 22, 1981 marks the eighth anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision legalizing abortion. The following article by Linda Jenness, reprinted from the March 2, 1973 'Militant' explains how that victory was won.

As recently as five years ago, abortion was a secret ordeal, shrouded in guilt, which millions of women went through alone and afraid.

The change in public opinion on abortion has been very recent. In fact, in 1968 polls showed that fewer than 15 percent of the population believed women had a right to abortion. This figure rose dramatically to 40 percent in 1969 and to 50 percent in 1971.

The change in attitudes on abortion has taken place in the context of broader shifts in attitudes about the role of women in society. Significant changes have occurred in the situation of women.

Nearly 44 percent of women now work outside the home, and the percentage is rapidly growing. Women are receiving more education than ever before. The use of birth-control devices and the pill has become widespread and is generally recognized as a legal right.

Increasing numbers of women are finding that although they have more options than ever before in terms of jobs, education, and participation in society, they are still hampered at every turn by the pervasive forms of sexual discrimination and oppression.

They are finding that although our society has the wealth and technology to build child-care centers, develop birth control methods, and take other measures that would tremendously alleviate the discrimination women face, the government has chosen not to

do so, and resists doing so.

The contradiction between what is possible, and what is actually being done, became painfully clear around the issue of abortion. With greater possibilities for control over their lives than ever before, women still have not been able to control their own bodies.

Modern medical science can provide abortions that are safer by far than childbirth itself. Yet before the Supreme Court decision, anti-abortion laws denied this medical advancement to most women. Doctors could transplant lungs and hearts, yet women were dying by the thousands at the hands of quack abortionists.

Another factor that created an atmosphere conducive to changing views on abortion has been the rise of the antiwar movement and the struggles of Blacks and other oppressed peoples. These and other movements for social change have helped to bring about a general climate of challenging traditional attitudes and values.

A turning point in the fight for the right to abortion came with the rise of women's liberation consciousness. Before, supporters of legal abortion tended to present their arguments in a half-apologetic or wrong fashion—justifying it in terms of population control, or demanding legal abortion only in the case of birth defects, danger to the mother's life, rape, or incest.

The women's liberation forces helped to pose the issue in a new way by stating categorically that abortion is a woman's right. The feminists took the issue off the axis of population control and placed it where it belonged—on the women's right to control her own body and her own life.

The first big breakthrough came in 1970. The New York State legislature passed a law permitting abortions

through the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy. "Women's liberation played an important part in the passage of this bill," Governor Nelson Rockefeller told the *New York Times* as he signed the measure into law.

This victory inspired supporters of abortion rights across the country to overturn the anti-abortion laws in their states. It also spurred the right wing into action, leading to the so-called right-to-life campaign against legal abortion spearheaded by the Catholic Church hierarchy.

By 1971 it was clear that the anti-abortion forces were on a serious offensive to roll back the victory in New York and to prevent further gains by the abortion rights movement.

The attack by the reactionary "right-to-life" forces became a central challenge for the fledgling women's liberation struggle.

Among those groups and individuals who responded to the challenge, of special importance was the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC). WONAAC became the first nation-wide feminist coalition to fight for abortion law repeal. It stated very clearly that abortion was a woman's right and rejected the concept of population control. WONAAC's three demands were: Repeal all abortion laws, no forced sterilization, end all contraceptive laws.

The women who participated in WONAAC initiated class-action suits and petitioning drives. They organized demonstrations, picket lines, and hearings, which were often the most visible manifestation of support for abortion law repeal. They counterposed a visible, mass-action approach to the strategy of those who wanted to be "quiet" and work "behind the scenes."

Dr. Barbara Roberts, a national coordinator of WONAAC, expressed the importance of this perspective in the following way: "This victory was not won by working quietly behind the scenes. It wasn't won by refusing to confront our enemies. When women took up the battle in our own behalf, when we thought the unthinkable and said the unspeakable, then and only then did the murderous laws crumble."

The anti-abortion forces, however, have not given up their campaign. They will continue to try to reverse this victory and to obstruct its implementation.

As these reactionary forces realize, the Supreme Court decision has far-reaching implications for the struggle of women against all forms of discrimination and oppression. Lack of the right to abortion has been one of the key rationalizations for discriminating against women in all areas. Employers have always said that women shouldn't get equal pay or shouldn't receive equal educational opportunities because working or studying were seen as subordinate to women's "natural function" of motherhood. The Supreme Court decision deals a blow to this concept.

The court ruling will not only affect the hundreds of thousands of women who have abortions every year. Millions of women who never participated in the abortion rights struggle have been inspired by the court decision. They see that women can challenge the oppressive institutions in this society, even on a subject as taboo as abortion.

By speaking out, refusing to accept the idea that biology is destiny, women have won a victory. The new confidence stemming from this victory will help bring more women into the fights ahead.

Letters

CP on Poland

The Communist Party held a public meeting in San Diego to denounce the militant Polish workers and their union, Solidarity, as "counterrevolutionary elements and fronts for the CIA." National CP leader Louis Weinstock said that proof of this was the support for the strikers from AFL-CIO bureaucrats and President Carter.

Weinstock, a member of the CP-USA for about fifty years, admitted that the Polish CP had made many errors and were guilty of violating both the democratic and trade union rights of the Polish workers. But this did not give them the right to challenge the leadership of the CP and form their own union.

The workers' strikes and the organization of Solidarity, he said, was the work of "outside elements of world monopoly."

He also said, "The Soviet Union will be justified in invading if the counterrevolutionaries get the upper hand . . . and whatever differences we may have over Palestine or that many of you supported Carter, we must stand united behind the Soviet Union and not let differences over Poland divide us."

He added that "if the Soviet Union invades it will have the full permission of the Polish government."

Questions from the floor challenged the right of the Soviet Union to invade Poland. Why were so many Communists involved in the strikes? And why do the farmers want a union?

Socialist Workers Party member Daniela Dixon got up and said that the Polish workers were fighting for democracy while retaining the economic gains of the workers state.

Several *Militants* were sold after the meeting and a couple of people said they agreed more with the position of the SWP in support of the Polish workers. *Mark Friedman*
San Diego, California

H.S. poll

In the Dec. 19 issue, Harry Ring describes a poll taken among high school students. This must be the season for polls of outstanding high school students.

A recent poll published in the Salt Lake City *Tribune* concerned 24,000 students listed in "Who's Who Among American High School Students." Possibly this is the same poll that Ring refers to, but the *Tribune's* story on it was completely different.

The story was headlined "Poll Shows Teens Suspicious of Business, Profits." Among the more revealing aspects of the poll were the following: the students felt that business should pay for any pollution it causes (78 percent); should keep wages rising as fast as inflation (59.7 percent); should give one year warning before shutting a factory (39.8 percent); and has the responsibility to create jobs in depressed areas (37.5 percent).

They also felt that the best way to raise productivity was to provide better machinery for workers (74.8 percent), better working conditions (71.2 percent), and more on-the-job training (59.6 percent). The worst way, according to the students, was more automation and fewer workers (13.1 percent).

Many of these students felt that the "typical big company is above the law and can get away with just about anything," and that the standard of living of workers should be raised "by limiting profits and raising wages."

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the poll was that less than one-third felt that the American economic system was the best in the world.

The corporate heads in this country certainly have their jobs cut out for them to rein in such heretical ideas.

Ed Berger
Salt Lake City, Utah

Living revolutions

The People's Revolutions now springing up in Third World countries are not sterile, scientific struggles based on verbatim Marxist socialism. They are human efforts at overthrowing an oppression that has chained the people down for 200 years.

The struggle is alive and desperate and the people are for once happy and satisfied. The revolutions are socialist in nature because *socialism means equality*, and equality is what the people want.

A living revolution of feeling, of life—not of words and technicalities. A revolution of the people and their lives will win; a revolution of words will never do anything but exhaust the speaker and bore the audience.

Right on to our brothers and sisters who are fighting and winning!

Here's \$5.00 for an extension of my subscription to the *Militant*.
Eddie Meredith
Caneyville, Kentucky

Glasses for Nicaragua

I read in the *Militant* that the United Steelworkers union in Pittsburgh was collecting old eyeglasses to send to Nicaragua, so that more people there could learn to read and write.

I took the notice to my optician and asked if she happened to have any cast-off eyeglasses. She was very interested and gave me about forty pairs of glasses, several empty frames, and dozens of lenses, which I am sending to the USWA.

Militant readers who wear glasses should talk to their opticians as well as sending any old glasses they still may have.

Eileen Gersh
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Retired supporter

I am retired on low income, seventy-six years old, and for socialism. I like the *Militant*—let's have more pictures.

Samuel Slyman
New Kensington, Pennsylvania

Gift sub

Enclosed is money for a gift subscription for an Iranian friend who has been reading my *Militant* for many years. He finds the *Militant* an excellent and reliable source of information on Iranian events as well as other issues.

Bruce Kaufman
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Hanns Eisler

I would appreciate hearing from readers of the *Militant* who have recollections, clippings, letters, recordings,



C.P. Houston

etc., relating to Hanns Eisler (1898-1962), the German composer of such workers' classics as "United Front Song" and "Solidarity Song," as well as major choral and symphonic works. He lived in exile in the United States between 1938 and 1948, when he was expelled at the behest of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

I am writing a book on his music, life, and political/musical theories. Write to: James Miller, 2061 E. 115th Street, Cleveland, Ohio 44106.

Thank you for your consideration.
James Miller
Cleveland, Ohio

El Salvador & Iran

"Expressions of concern for the fate of the American hostages" have been bombarding us for over a year now on television, in the newspapers.

Hey—and I believed it! I thought our government was more than willing to do anything possible to protect the rights of American citizens abroad.

But I guess I was wrong. If you're not actually subverting the interests of a people in

another country, but rather even trying to help them out, you don't count.

We'll check on it, investigate if something happens to you. We'll send a task force to talk to the very people responsible for any murder, rape, etc. that might occur.

It's truly disgusting to note the difference in response in the American daily press towards the murder of the American nuns in El Salvador and the charade they have built around "the American hostages in Iran."

Our government has as much concern for the average citizen in this country as they have had in the past for Iranians, Vietnamese, Koreans, Black people in South Africa, and the list goes on and on.

Tony Abdo
Portland, Oregon

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Tel: (205) 323-3079. Zip: 35233.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.
CALIFORNIA: Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 201 N. 9th St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 998-4007.
COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.
FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.
GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.
ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.
INDIANA: Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.
IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, Box 352. Zip: 50613.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.
LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.
MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.
MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837. Zip: 01004. Tel: (413) 256-0640. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.
MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Tel: (313) 663-7068. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.
MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.
MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.
NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.
NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.
NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP,

YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494.
New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. **New York, Manhattan:** SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. **New York:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.
NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.
OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.
OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.
PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (215) 734-4415. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Bill Donovan, 1240 E. Branch Rd. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 1322, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.
TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 1406 N. Flores Rd. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 222-8398.
UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.
VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.
WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.
WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7392. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.
WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.
WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Desegregation battle brews in Louisiana

Judge leads attack on Black rights

By Michele Smith

NEW ORLEANS—A new battle is shaping up in the struggle for an equal education for Black youth in Louisiana. It centers around the challenge by state Judge Richard Lee to the school desegregation order handed down by federal Judge Nauman Scott last August.

Scott's order partially desegregates the Rapides Parish schools.

It includes busing 107 white students from Buckeye High School (the school covers the sixth to twelfth grades) to Jones Street Junior High School in Alexandria, which is 48 percent Black.

The New Orleans *Times-Picayune* has reported that members of Judge Scott's staff said he did not order all-white Buckeye High desegregated because he feared a violent reaction by the surrounding community.

That community is completely segregated. Not only do no Blacks live there, Blacks don't even slow down when they drive through the area, according to some townspeople.

The battle lines have been drawn with Judge Lee and other busing opponents using arguments like "states' rights," "neighborhood schools," and charges of "forced busing" to disguise their opposition to school desegregation.

Judge Lee's legal maneuvers to sabotage desegregation have emboldened anti-Black elements like the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan has called demonstra-



Judge Richard Lee, defying federal desegregation order, escorts Michele Laborde to all-white school.

tions and burned crosses to protest Scott's desegregation order.

When the August 6 desegregation order was handed down, all but 22 of the 107 Buckeye students affected were sent by their parents to private schools set up in the churches.

Today the focal point of the antibusing fight is three white students who refuse to attend Jones Street Junior High. The parents of Michele Laborde,

Lynda McNeal, and Ramona Carbo petitioned Judge Lee to transfer legal custody of their children to friends living in the Buckeye school district so that the three youth could attend the all-white school.

Lee granted the custody transfer and ordered Buckeye school officials to admit the girls.

Judge Scott intervened, saying that this was an attempt to avoid the desegregation plan. He threatened to fine the parents and the legal guardians if the three students did not attend Jones Street Junior High.

In response to Scott's action, Judge Lee made the state of Louisiana the girls' legal guardian.

Just before Christmas vacation, Lee ordered the local sheriff's office to escort the Buckeye Three, as the girls have become known, to the school.

A federal court order responded to Lee's actions by prohibiting interference by the sheriff's office.

On Monday, January 5, the first day of school after the holidays, Judge Lee ordered state troopers to accompany the girls to ensure their attendance at Buckeye.

Lee gave the officers orders to arrest anyone who tried to keep the girls out of class. When state Attorney General William Gus questioned the legality of using state troopers in this manner, Judge Scott issued a temporary restraining order forbidding the state police or any other state employees from aiding the three girls in their attempt to violate the federal desegregation order.

On January 6, Lee and the local constable accompanied the three girls to school. Following a discussion with U.S. marshals who had been sent to Buckeye High, the constable left the school. On January 7, Lee alone accompanied the three girls.

Federal Judge Scott then issued a

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Detroit rally honors Martin Luther King

By Nan Bailey

DETROIT—Seven hundred people met in Ford auditorium here January 11, at a rally commemorating the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr.

It was the fourth annual King memorial meeting sponsored by the Detroit chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the organization founded by King in 1957.

Scores of organizations and prominent individuals attended and sent greetings to the rally.

Messages of support came from King's widow Coretta; Detroit Mayor Coleman Young; William Milliken, governor of Michigan; Detroit City Council Chairperson Erma Henderson; Local 231 of the Detroit Federation of Teachers; and Carl Levin and Donald Riegle, U.S. Senators from Michigan.

Members of the Detroit chapters of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) and the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) attended and distributed leaflets to rally participants.

The CARD leaflet read, in part: "We remember well Dr. King's tireless efforts to eradicate racism and its pernicious effects from this country."

"While Dr. King is best known for his work in defense of the rights of his fellow Americans, [he] also was involved in the protection of the rights of others around the world."

The leaflet quoted King's book, *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?*, in which King asked, "Why . . . our nation placed itself in the position of being God's military agent on earth, and intervened recklessly in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic? Why . . . we substituted the arrogant undertaking of policing the whole world for the high task of putting our own house in order?"

"CARD feels that the questions posed by Dr. King over a decade ago are relevant today," the leaflet said.

Rosa Parks, the Black woman whose refusal to give up her seat to a white man sparked the successful Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott in 1956, attended the rally. She was recognized with an award for her contributions to the fight for Black rights.

Gospel singers Donald Vails and the Choraleers, and Twinkie Clark and the Clark Sisters performed.

Members of the Postdait youth club held up posters in the audience which read, "America supports great leadership. Why not Martin Luther King, Jr.?" and "We have a dream, too—That Martin Luther King's birthday will be recognized as a national holiday."

The featured speaker at the rally was SCLC national president Joseph Lowery.

Lowery announced that he would

speak in Atlanta on January 15 at the rally there to demand a national holiday in honor of King.

He explained to the predominantly Black audience that his theme was taken from one of the speeches of Martin Luther King. It was an appeal for Blacks to reject "individualism", and to adopt, "a sense of community and social interdependence."

"I was with some of my Republican friends the other day," said Lowery. "They were talking about Black capitalism."

"I said, go ahead and make all the Black billionaires you can, but don't think I'm going to stand here and let you substitute that for full employment."

"Because I don't care how many Black billionaires you make, that's not going to solve the problems of the millions and millions of Black people who are unemployed and underemployed in this country."

"There's a whole lot of white billionaires and they don't seem to be doing much for the six or seven million white folks who are unemployed," Lowery said.

"We've got to have a sense of community. We can't do it as individuals. Our destiny is wrapped up in each other."

"We've got to be ready to be the moral catalyst that compels this coun-

try to look at itself," Lowery said.

"There's something wrong with a system where the rich get richer . . . and fewer . . . and the poor get poorer . . . and morer . . ."

"Even if we eliminated racism tomorrow, we'd still have an unemployment crisis. Our rate of unemployment wouldn't be two and a half and three times as much as white folks, but we'd still have an unemployment problem."

"We have to come home to our sense of moral responsibility so that we can call on the whites to come with us to straighten this country out."

"This system has got us fighting each other," Lowery said.

"Poor little half-delivered white folks dressing up in sheets, running around the country shooting people talking about they're poor because we're getting all the jobs."

"Klan in the sheets in the streets is dangerous," said Lowery, "but the Klan mentality in the corporate and political suites is dangerous as well."

"We've got to challenge and deal with it."

"Finally," Lowery said, "let's come home to a sense of understanding that we are citizens of the world. We can no longer be provincial."

"Our fate and destiny are linked to the fate and the destiny of our brothers and sisters around the world, especially in the third world countries."